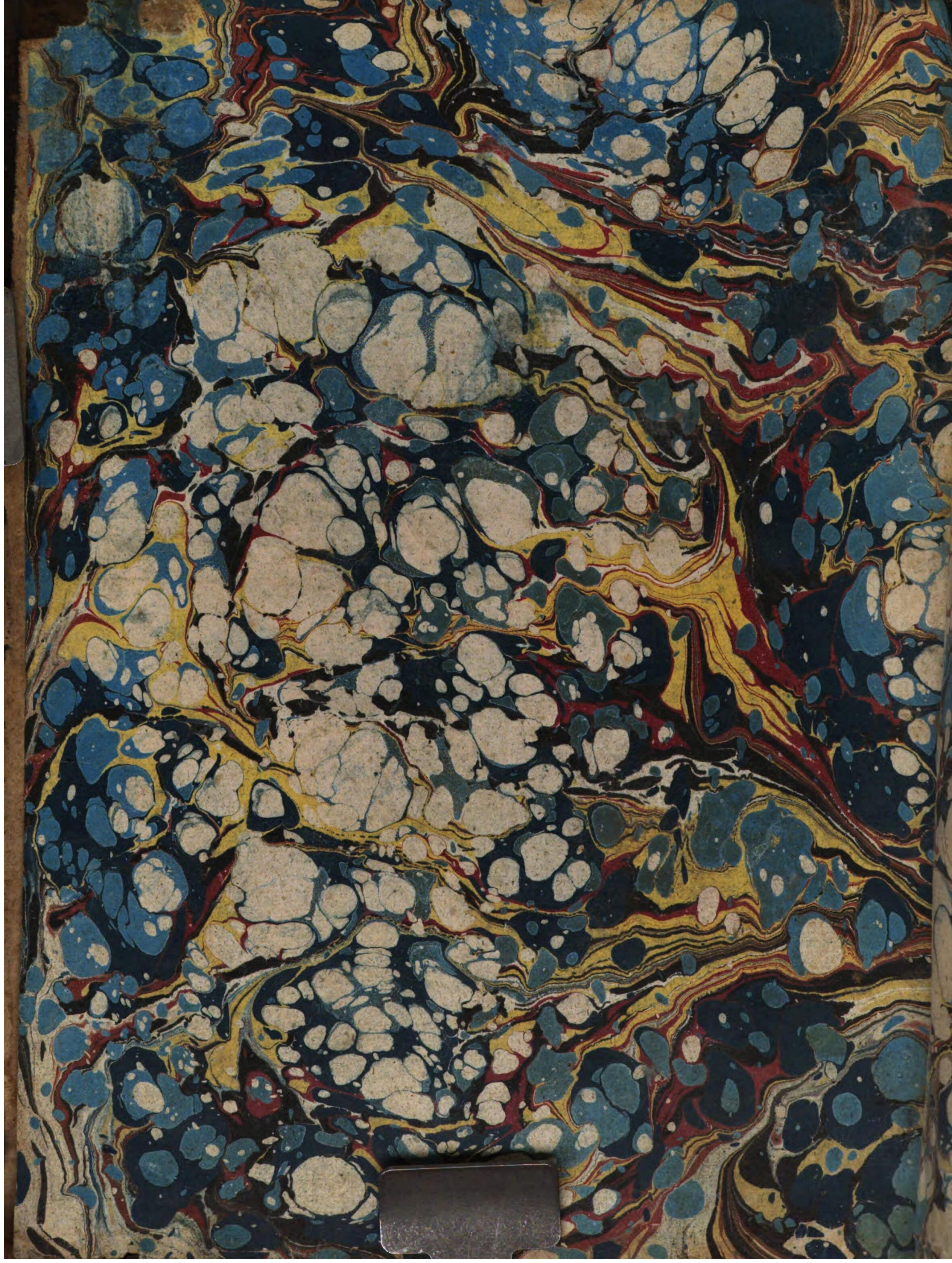








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THE
H I S T O R Y
O F
V A N D A L I A.

CONTAINING THE
ANTIENT AND PRESENT STATE
O F THE
COUNTRY of MECKLENBURG;

Its REVOLUTIONS under
The VANDALS, the VENEDI, and the SAXONS;

WITH THE
SUCCESSION and MEMORABLE ACTIONS
of its SOVEREIGNS.

By THOMAS NUGENT, L. L. D.
And Fellow of the Society of ANTIQUARIES.

V O L. II.

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MDCCLXIX.

THE
HISTORY
OF
VANDALIA
CONTAINING
A HISTORY AND PRESENT STATE
OF THE
COUNTRY OF MECKLENBURG

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TO
THEIR SERENE HIGHNESSES,
FREDERICK II.
DUKE OF MECKLENBURG-SCHWERIN,
AND
ADOLPHUS FREDERICK IV.
DUKE OF MECKLENBURG-STRELITZ,
THIS SECOND VOLUME OF
THE HISTORY OF VANDALIA,
IS,
WITH THE MOST PROFOUND RESPECT,
HUMBLY DEDICATED,
BY THEIR SERENE HIGHNESSES'
MOST DEVOTED,
AND OBEDIENT SERVANT,

THOMAS NUGENT.

TO

THEIR SERENE HIGHNESSES

FREDERICK II.

DUKE OF MECKLENBURG-SCHWERIN,

AND

ADOLPHUS FREDERICK IV.

DUKE OF MECKLENBURG-STRELLITZ,

THIS SECOND VOLUME OF

THE HISTORY OF VANDALIA,

18

IS HEREBY THE MOST PROFOUNDLY RESPECTFULLY

HUMBLY DEDICATED,

BY THEIR SERENE HIGHNESSES

THE MOST DEVOTED,

AND OBEDIENT SERVANTS,

THOMAS NUGENT

P R E F A C E.

SINCE the publication of the first volume of this History, the author was induced, by the nature of his subject, to visit the duchy of Mecklenburg, which, in some measure, retarded the prosecution of the work. Upon a review of his materials for the second volume, they appeared to be scanty and defective; and from that time he became sensible of the expediency of a voyage to Germany, in order to explore new sources, and to pursue his inquiries at the fountain-head. This expedition was attended with the desired success; he met with a most polite reception at the courts of Strelitz and Schwerin; he had free access to the ducal archives and records, as well as frequent opportunities of conversing with the literati, whereby he acquired such new lights, as enabled him to dispel the clouds of uncertainty, and to fill up the vacant spaces that occurred in some dark parts of his history. That noble patron of learning, baron Dewitz, minister to the duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, distinguished himself on this occasion, and was greatly instrumental in procuring him a fresh supply of literary intelligence. Count Bassewitz, minister to the duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, also favoured him with papers of consequence. M. Æpinus, professor of philosophy at the university of Butzow, freely communicated such curious and valuable pieces, as he judged any way capable of contributing

tributing to the improvement of the History of Vandalia. M. Zur-neddin, secretary to the regency of Schwerin, made him a present of his learned History of Rostock: the reverend and ingenious M. Buckholtz, sent him his elaborate History of Brandenburg, with which that of Mecklenburg has a considerable connexion; and several other gentlemen, whose candour and humanity are equal to their extensive erudition, contributed to direct him in the arrangement of his plan, if they did not enrich his original stock.

So polite a reception, and so generous a supply, made the author ample amends for the hardship and fatigues he underwent in his return from Mecklenburg in the depth of winter, and for the danger to which he exposed himself at that rude season, in crossing the Zuyder-sea*. Having laid in such a stock of new materials, he found himself under a necessity of altering his plan, and dividing the History of Vandalia into three volumes. The work, by becoming thus more extensive, will, he flatters himself, afford a greater variety, and a richer fund of entertainment to the public, than it could possibly have given, if confined within a narrower compass. At the same time the reader is desired to recollect, that this is not the History of the illustrious house of Mecklenburg alone, but comprizes that of the whole country, known in the middle ages by the name of Vandalia; and, of consequence, includes all transactions relative to the Hanse towns, with a great part of the Danish and Swedish

* The author has published a full account of his tour to Mecklenburg, to which he refers the reader.

affairs,

affairs, during the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. Thus the history of Albert, king of Sweden, in the present volume, contains a detail of events the most interesting to those two northern kingdoms, and particularly the memorable revolution in 1388, when that unfortunate prince was stripped of his crown by a female rival, the celebrated Margaret Waldemar, surnamed the Semiramis of the North. The author, in thus enlarging his plan, found his labour greatly increased; but still may truly say, labor ipse voluptas: he proceeded with alacrity, encouraged by the favourable reception which the public, and especially the literati of Mecklenburg, have been pleased to give to his first volume. If any thing could flatter his vanity, it is a most polite letter which he received from the reverend and very learned Mr. Masch, superintendant of Strelitz, acquainting him that he is now employed in translating the History of Vandalia into German, by order of his serene highness the duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. The author cannot resist the temptation of transcribing so honourable a testimony, as it gratifies his ambition to the height, the ambition of pleasing those, who are doubtless the best judges of the arduousness of his undertaking.

P. S. This second volume begins with the restoration of Pribislaus in 1167, and concludes at the memorable æra of the reformation in 1517. The third volume, containing the history of the thirty years war, of the treaty of Westphalia, and of the two reigning branches of Schwerin and Strelitz, will be published next winter; to which will be prefixed a list of the subscribers.

Extract of a letter from the reverend and very learned superintendant of Strelitz, M. Masch.

Doctissimo viro Thomæ Nugent, S. P. D. Andreas Gotlieb. Masch.

Litteris te prosequor, vir doctissime, quamvis trans mare transvolaveris, non immemor amicitiae, qua me dignatus es, cum inter nostrates viveres, alienigena quidem, sed in rebus nostris versatissimus, rerumque nostrarum iudex perspicacissimus.

—Jam jussu serenissimi Domini nostri, in eo allaboro ut historiam Mecklenburgicam, quam tu Anglice scripsisti, nostratibus veste Germanica indutam ad legendum tradam. Monumentum ære perennius exegisti; & inter nos notum erit omnibus, quanta cura et judicio res Mecklenburgenses perscrutatus sis. Vale, faveque tibi deditissimo.

Neu-Strelitz,

Id. Maii, MDCCLXVII.

E R R A T A.

Pag. 232. line 9. for *duke of Stargard* r. *brothers*. p. 235. l. 5. for *resident* r. *residee*.
p. 249. l. 5. from the bottom dele the first *suddenly*. p. 291. l. 3. after *concerned* insert *with*.
p. 345. l. 4. for *state* r. *states*. p. 347. l. 27. for *off* r. *away*. p. 368. l. 12. after *to* insert *his*.
p. 419. l. penult. for *diffident* r. *different*. p. 432. l. 21. after *to* insert *their*.



T. Simpson del et sculp.

THE
HISTORY
OF
VANDALIA.

BOOK III.

From the reign of PRIBISLAUS II. the first Prince of MECKLENBURG in 1167, to the accession of ALBERT I. the first Duke of MECKLENBURG in 1329.

THE ensuing period of our history opens with an extraordinary and amazing scene, the restoration of an ancient line of princes, who had been crushed by a religious confederacy, stripped of their hereditary possessions, and forced to fly for shelter to a foreign prince's dominions. This restoration is brought about, when least expected, by the very hand that dethroned the royal family of the Obotrites. Fortune seems to have exerted herself alternately in persecuting and protecting these princes. After they had long laboured under the calamities of intestine war, from the emulous faction of the Rugians, they had still the formidable power of the Saxons to contend with, headed by a hero who filled all Germany with the terror of his arms. Yet an extraordinary intervention of Providence enabled them to weather out this dreadful storm; and not only were they preserved from ruin, but recovered the greatest part of their ancient dominions, which to this day are possessed by the descendants of the magnanimous Pribislaus.

CHAP. I.

Depopulation of the country of the Venedi. Colonies of Saxons introduced by Henry the Lion, which gives rise to new customs, manners, language, religion, and laws. Henry the Lion threatened by a confederacy of the princes of the empire, restores Pribislaus to his dominions. Conditions of that restoration.

1164.
Depopulation of the country of the Obotrites.

AFTER it had pleased the Supreme Disposer of empires to put an end to the ancient kingdom of the Venedi, by the fatal overthrow at Dimmin in 1164, the country of the Obotrites was intirely abandoned to the mercy, or rather wanton barbarity, of the enemy. Henry the Lion, whose conduct on occasions had been seasoned with humanity, proceeded with great severity in extirpating those Venedi who professed the Pagan religion. The cruelties exercised by his soldiers on that miserable people, have been hinted at in the close of the preceding volume. Even the few that embraced Christianity, were, according to the common, tho' perhaps impolitic, custom of conquerors, deprived of all posts and honours, and condemned to the state of vassalage, to which the peasants of Mecklenburg are still subject. The reason assigned by the Saxons for enslaving those unhappy people was, that they doubted of the sincerity of their conversion; so that the vassalage of the present boors of that country is derived from no purer a source, than from the prejudices of bigotry and superstition. Not that all the peasants of that country are of Venedic extraction; a great number are of the same Saxon original as the nobility and burghers: yet when their ancestors were transplanted into those parts, they must have submitted to be upon the same footing as the Venedic boors, who tilled those lands before them. But it is not at all improbable, that this yoke, which was so heavy at first as to oblige many of the Venedic peasants to quit their country, was lightened afterwards in favour of the Saxons*.

* Helmold. Cranz. Beehr.

THE country being thus depopulated by the persecution of the Venedi, Henry the Lion invited new inhabitants from Saxony, Westphalia, Friseland, and other parts of Germany. Among these the country was divided in such a manner, that the same distinction of ranks or conditions was observed as in Saxony. The towns were assigned to such as had lived in corporate communities. The lands were distributed among those officers who had served under Henry, and who in the ancient manuscripts have no higher appellation than *Milites* or *Ministeriales Homines*: these are the Teutonic, or new-created nobility. Yet this was not effected in such a manner, but as well among the nobility as the citizens there are several of Venedic extraction: for it is hardly possible there could be a total transplantation; and great numbers, especially of women and children, must have remained, who incorporated afterwards with the Saxons and other new adventurers*. In regard to the burghers, it became a common practice in after-times for peasants to get rid of their servitude by manumission or otherwise, and to settle in towns, where they were made free of some corporation. Besides, it is very certain that the Venedi who attended Pribislaus at the time of his exile, and returned with him at his restoration, were distributed among the towns, which he wanted to repeople; for Henry the Lion only began this new population, and it was completed by Pribislaus and his sons. As to the Venedic nobility, several of them preserved their estates, either by being restored together with Pribislaus, or by voluntary submission to the Saxon conqueror. The two illustrious families of Pritzbur and Gamme are well known to be of the ancient Venedic blood; their ancestors, to their immortal renown, having sacrificed their lives in the cause of their sovereigns. With respect to the nobility of Saxon original, there are doubtless some of more ancient extraction than others; but

Colonies of
Saxons and
Frisians
planted in
this country.

* This, however, must have been attended with some difficulty at first; for Cranzius observes, that the new adventurers, Saxons, Frisians, &c. had such an aversion to the Venedi, that they would not suffer any one to live among them, who would not swear that he was of Teutonic extraction.

few can give proofs of their nobility, that ascend higher than this period. Among those few we must reckon the noble family of Pleffe, which is descended from a Saxon nobleman, whom Helmoldus calls by the name of Pleffe. This nobleman served under Henry in the Venedic war, where he lost two brothers, and for his extraordinary services received a particular grant of lands, which are still possessed by his descendants*.

New language.

THE new inhabitants of Mecklenburg introduced a new language, new religion, and new laws. The language which by Henry's authority was established over all the province, was his native dialect, which still obtains with very little alteration in Lower Saxony. This is the Plat Deutsche, or Low Dutch. The Venedi who were incorporated with the new adventurers, by degrees lost their own language; so that at present there are no vestiges of it, except in a few obscure villages, where the Venedic and Teutonic are promiscuously used. But it is not to be imagined, that this total alteration of their language was the work of a few years; on the contrary, it must have been a considerable time, some centuries perhaps, before the Teutonic could intirely expel the Slavonic†.

New religion.

THE religion introduced was Christianity, as then professed by Henry and all his subjects. The bishoprics of Ratzeburg and Mecklenburg or Schwerin were then enlarged, and confirmed with farther privileges. The bishopric of Schwerin had been originally founded by king Godescalcus in the city of Mecklenburg; but upon the inhuman murder of that prince it became vacant eighty years, and was at length restored by Hartwic archbishop of Hamburg. The city of Mecklenburg having been soon after rased to the ground, the third bishop removed his see to Schwerin; and, properly speaking, this bishopric was not founded till 1170, when Henry the Lion obtained the confirmation of this establishment from the emperor. The bishop-

* Cranzius, Helmold. Beehr, Cluver, Latomus origines Pleffiacæ, Sculzius annal. Pleffiac.

† Schurtzfleisch de reb. Slav. and Orig. Pomer. John Leon. Frisch Programma on the Slavonic language.

ric of Ratzeburg had been likewise first erected by king Godecalcus; but having been vacant some time, in consequence of the disturbances of that country, it was restored in 1154 by Henry the Lion, who endowed it in 1158, and confirmed its privileges and jurisdiction in 1167, with the consent of the emperor Frederick I. *

IN regard to the new laws, they were such as obtained at that time in Saxony: this does not imply that the ancient customs were all at once abolished; for even after the restoration of Pribislaus, the Venedic rights or laws were long intermixed with those of Saxony. And although the new adventurers conformed to, or rather retained, the Saxon customs, yet Pribislaus and his followers, after the restoration, might not so readily comply with rights and laws to which they were utter strangers. By these Saxon rights or laws we do not mean the civil law, which it is true had already passed the Alps, but had not obtained the force and vigour of law; neither do we mean the rights and privileges which were afterwards granted by the sovereign to some of the cities, under the title of "Laws of Lubeck or Schwerin;" but we mean those customs and laws which obtained in general among the Saxons, and are treated of at large by those who have written *de Jure Saxonico*. We must not however exclude Pribislaus, as a legislator, upon his return from exile; nay, it may safely be affirmed, that most of the new regulations were made or confirmed by that prince. From these Saxon laws and the Venedic customs was the *Jus Lubicense* and *Suerinense*, or the law of Lubeck and Schwerin, compiled. It is indeed the common opinion, that the law of Schwerin was made by duke Henry and count Gunzelinus, for the benefit and advantage of the city of Schwerin; but that the law of Lubeck was due to Henry alone, who ordered it to be compiled for the city of Lubeck. But although this opinion may be right in regard to the law of Schwerin, and Henry may have granted some privileges and franchises to the city of Lubeck,

New laws.

*Cranzius, Vand. & Metrop. Helmold.

yet, properly speaking, the complete codex of the laws of Lubeck is rather to be attributed to the emperor Frederick II. than to Henry the Lion *.

Restoration
of Pribislaus.

THUS had the face of this country undergone a total change, when, contrary to all expectation, a sudden revolution ensued in favour of the exiled king Pribislaus II. who was restored by Henry the Lion to his dominions. The cause of so extraordinary an event deserves a particular explanation.

1167.
Successes of
Henry the
Lion.

HENRY the Lion was now arrived at the highest pitch of prosperity. As soon as the Venedi were subdued, he had a conference at Lubeck with Waldemar king of Denmark, in which a treaty was signed by those princes, for the advantage of their respective dominions. In virtue of this treaty the king agreed to pay a subsidy to Henry, for defending his subjects against the incursions of the Venedi. It was likewise stipulated, that the tribute from the conquered provinces should be equally distributed between those two princes. Thus Henry was become the most powerful sovereign in Germany. Besides the two duchies of Bavaria and Saxony, and the rich patrimony of the emperor Lotharius, he had inherited several other great possessions, as those of Herman de Winzeburg, Sifrid of Hamburg, Otho de Assé, and the county of Stade, which became vacant by the decease of Hartwick I. archbishop of Bremen, the last count of that family. He likewise had some pretensions to Friseland, and was ready to assert them by force of arms; but the inhabitants compounding with him for a considerable sum, he withdrew his troops from their frontier †.

Confederacy
against Hen-
ry the Lion.

SUCH a series of successes procured this prince many enemies, who were jealous of his over-grown power. The principal of these were the archbishops of Magdeburg and Cologne, the bishop of Hildesheim, the landgrave of Thuringia, the margrave

* Septem Fragmenta Juris Zwerinensis in Westphal's first part of Monum. Germ. Banger's Orig. Lub. Justitia Lubicensis. Codex Juris Lub. Mevius Jus Provinciale Mecklemb. Struven.

† Helmold. Scriptor. Rer. Brunsv.

of Brandenburg*, the prince of Anhalt, and the count of Oldenburg. They had all caballed against him a considerable time; but the emperor's presence prevented their coming to an open rupture. This year Frederick undertook his fourth expedition into Italy, which afforded those princes an opportunity to strengthen their confederacy, till at length they broke out into a civil war. The emperor was not ignorant of the forming of this alliance, but took no pains to stifle it; for Henry's successes had given him umbrage, and he looked upon that prince as already grown too powerful for a subject. He therefore resolved to reduce the revolted towns in Italy, while the confederate princes were weakening one another by civil dissensions in Germany.

HENRY beheld the impending storm, being thoroughly acquainted with the machinations of his enemies. In order therefore to put himself into a posture of defence, he raised a considerable army, and quartered numerous garrisons in the fortified towns throughout his dominions. The old fortresses were repaired, and new ones erected. He likewise took care to see his troops well disciplined, and appointed officers of the greatest experience to command the frontiers. Yet he was sensible of the strength of the confederates; and apprehending lest Pribislaus, whom he knew to be a prince of invincible fortitude, should avail himself of these circumstances to excite fresh disturbances; knowing moreover that the dukes of Pomerania, the near relations of Pribislaus, would endeavour once more to reinstate him, and even that all the confederates would join in the same cause; he thought it prudent to restore the exiled prince to his dominions, and to make a good neighbour and ally of an inveterate foe, by an extraordinary exertion of magnanimity and moderation. Inspired therefore by these prudent and generous sentiments, he concluded a treaty with Pribislaus, by which that prince was again restored to all his paternal dominions, except Stargard, which was ceded to the margrave of

Henry resolves to restore Pribislaus.

1167.

* Albert the Bear had been his ally against Pribislaus, but became his bitter rival in regard to the duchy of Saxony.

Conditions
of the treaty.

Brandenburg; Schwerin and Ratzeburg, which were settled upon their own counts; Wagria, which was granted to the counts of Holstein; and some districts of land that were bestowed on the bishoprics of Mecklenburg (afterwards Schwerin) and Ratzeburg. The conditions of this treaty were, That Pribislaus should defend and protect the Christian religion, which had been lately introduced into that country; should suffer the bishops, prelates, counts, knights, and other inhabitants to remain unmolested in their new possessions and privileges; and lastly, should enter into a close alliance of amity and friendship with the Saxons, especially with those who were subject to duke Henry.

Conversion
of Pribislaus.

It is generally believed that one condition of this treaty was, that Pribislaus should embrace the Christian religion; and that in virtue of this stipulation he was baptized at Luneburg in 1167, in the convent of St. Michael: yet there are some doubts in regard to the time of this prince's conversion; but the most probable opinion is, that he embraced Christianity during his exile in Pomerania.

Whether he
was obliged
to renounce
the title of
king.

ANOTHER condition mentioned by some writers is, that Pribislaus was obliged to renounce the regal title. But Henry, in all probability, never dreamt of such a condition, since the proper appellation by which the Venedic kings were distinguished by their own subjects, was, as we have elsewhere observed, either that of Kiroll or Karoll, as much as to say, Lord; or that of Knees Weliki, which signifies Great Prince: the former seems to have been the expression used in addressing their sovereign, as our Sire; the other his full title. We may therefore more reasonably conclude, that Pribislaus and his successors dropped the latter title of Great Prince of their own accord, since they ceased to have any power or jurisdiction over the other princes of the Venedi; yet they retained the former, and stiled themselves in Latin Dominos, which answers to the Venedic word Kiroll, and was sufficient to remind them of their ancient sovereignty. The same may be said of the title Knees, which likewise denotes a great lord or prince; whence prince John was called Knees Janicke. And by this title of Knees or Prince,

we

we shall distinguish the reigning sovereigns of this family, from the restoration of Pribislaus to the reign of Albert I. when they became dukes of Mecklenburg.

THE historians of Luneburg and Brunswick, and even some others, mention another condition of this restoration, viz. that Pribislaus should yield homage to Henry and his successors. This they pretend to prove by a passage from Helmoldus, lib. 2. cap. 7. where this historian says, “ Et fecit Pribislaus duci “ (Henrico) et amicis suis securitatem fidelitatis.—Stare scilicet ad mandatum ipsius, et observare oculos amicorum ejus.” The whole argument is drawn from the word *mandatum*, by which they understand the order or command of a person invested with superior authority. But, in the opinion of other writers, the above word implies no more than a recommendation from one ally to another. This appears from another passage out of the same historian, where he says that Henry (*mandaverit*) recommended it to the princes of Pomerania, who at that time were undisputed sovereigns, or at least were not vassals to Henry the Lion, to make war against the Rugians. In short, it is a vague and indefinite term, used by a monkish writer to express the superior power and weight of his Saxon hero. Pribislaus might therefore have entered into such an alliance with Henry, as to be ready at all times to assist that prince, and to execute any trust he would please to repose in him; yet we join with those learned writers, who are of opinion, that Pribislaus was in every respect as independent on duke Henry, and perhaps on the whole empire, after his assumption of the title of prince, as he had been when in possession of the regal dignity. Our reasons for this opinion are as follow: 1. Because the mere restoring a person to his possessions, of which he had been stripped, does not imply any vassalage; otherwise Helmoldus would have expressed it in plain terms by the word *feudum*, or *vassallagium*, or *vassallus*. 2. It cannot be proved, that after the restoration of Pribislaus, either Henry or his successors ever exercised any act of sovereignty in Mecklenburg, or received any homage from the princes of that name, who were ever considered by their neighbours as free and independent.

Whether he paid homage to Henry the Lion.

Pribislaus an independent prince.

dent*. 3. Neither can it be demonstrated, that the Venedi before the time of Pribislaus, notwithstanding they were often obliged to pay tribute, ever yielded homage, strictly speaking, to a foreign prince. 4. The princes of Mecklenburg always acted as a free and independent power, concluded alliances, declared war, made peace, and performed every other act of sovereignty, without ever meeting with opposition from Luneburg or any other quarter. 5. Henry's successors made no sort of opposition, when the princes of Mecklenburg subjected themselves and their country to the emperor of Germany, and accepted of a seat and vote in the college of princes.

Origin of the
privileges of
the nobility.

SOME there are who do not pretend to make Pribislaus a vassal in regard to Henry, but insist on his having been under a kind of nexus or federal obligation; but with these we shall not dispute, since both history and reason evince, that on the side of Pribislaus, there must have been every obligation arising from gratitude and friendship. All we deny is, any nexus of vassalage or feudal dependance. And if the princes of Mecklenburg had been under any such subjection at this period of time, it must have been in regard to the German empire, which indeed might have some reason to form a pretension of that nature. But upon the most diligent inquiry we never could discover that any of those princes yielded homage to the empire, before the time of Albert I. If in process of time they came to exercise a more limited authority, this proceeds from quite another cause, partly from the privileges with which they themselves gradually favoured their subjects, and partly from stipulated conditions of peace, but not from any feudal dependance. Hence we may conclude, that the first princes after the restoration were possessed of an unlimited power, till the states of the province gradually obtained either by voluntary grant or by acquiescence, the privileges which they now enjoy. This however is certain, that most of the ancient privileges of the nobility of Mecklenburg may be dated from the present period; and that they were afterwards enlarged by

* Except, however, the short time that his son Henry Burevinus, and other princes of Lower Saxony, were under the Danish yoke.

Henry Burevinus II. in return for the loyalty and zeal of those nobles, in assisting that prince to throw off the Danish yoke *.

CHAP. II.

Pribislaus II. prince of Mecklenburg, repeoples his country, builds new towns, and promotes Christianity. Engages in the Danish war against the prince of Rugen. Subversion of idolatry in that island. Description of the pagan rites in Rugen. War between the confederates and Henry the Lion. War between Henry the Lion and Denmark. The convent of Dobberan founded. Pribislaus undertakes a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Death and character of that prince.

I. PRIBISLAUS II.

The first PRINCE of MECKLENBURG.

From 1167 to 1181.

EMPEROR of GERMANY,

FREDERICK I. BARBAROSSA, 1152.

KINGS of ENGLAND,

STEPHEN 1135. HENRY II. 1154.

WHOEVER considers the situation of Pribislaus, at the conclusion of the late treaty †, will easily perceive that necessity must have obliged him to accept of the terms prescribed

1167.
Situation of
Pribislaus at
his restoration.

* Helmold. Sax. Gram. Cranzius, Bacmeister animadv. Simon Vand. Hederich Megap. divis. Kirchberg, Corner, Peterfen Holst. Chron. Bangert orig. Lub. Beehr, Kluver, Buckholtz, and particularly M. Struvens's learned discourse on the states of Mecklenburg.

† There is some doubt concerning the year of Pribislaus's restoration: some place it in 1164, and others with greater probability in 1167; for surely some time was re-

bed by the duke of Saxony. Not that those terms were so very severe, when Henry had it in his power to keep possession of the whole country, and was at that time in the very zenith of his prosperity. It must be therefore acknowledged, that Pribislaus was greatly favoured by a treaty, which restoring him to his dominions, enabled him to people those dreary wastes, that had been made by the late ravages, and to convert a desolate kingdom into a flourishing principality. Tired with unprosperous events in war, he thought it in vain to contend any longer against the superior power and good fortune of Henry; and that the most advisable step in his present situation was, to sit down contented with the conditions on which he was permitted to resume the reins of government. Besides, he perceived the necessity, reasonableness, and utility of those articles, which he therefore swore to, and ever after most religiously observed. In short, a thorough reconciliation ensued between the two princes, and this was afterwards worked up into the strictest intimacy and friendship.

He repeoples
the country,

IN order to repair the losses his country had sustained by so long and bloody a war, he cultivated the arts of peace, as the surest means of procuring the happiness of his people. Numbers of those who had been driven from their respective dwellings, he invited to return, and granted them every encouragement to fill up the void spaces, that had been made by the destructive sword. Most of the towns having been either greatly damaged, or burnt down to the ground, he set about repairing some, and raising others from the foundation. He began with the city of Mecklenburg, which had formerly contained five leagues and a half in circumference, and been long the residence of the kings of the Obotrites. We have mentioned already in what manner it had been burnt down by this prince

quite for so great a change. Henry, after the expulsion of Pribislaus, must have been in possession of the country for a while, in order to effect a new population, and to transplant the Saxons, Frisians, &c. into Mecklenburg; therefore 1164 would have been too soon for so considerable a transaction; and it is more reasonable to suppose, that Pribislaus lived a year or two in exile.

himself,

himself, to prevent its falling into the hands of his enemies. He designed to make it once more the seat of government; yet it could never recover its ancient splendor, and it is now reduced to a little village in the neighbourhood of Wismar, which owes its flourishing state to the decline of that capital. Among the rest of his great undertakings, he finished the city of Rostock, which he had begun to build in 1160. We have elsewhere taken notice that the foundations of this city had been laid by the good king Godescalcus: upon this same ground Pribislaus undertook to erect more edifices in 1160, in order to make a town of what Godescalcus had designed only for a castle; but the flames of war, which broke out soon after, prevented him from carrying his design into execution. As soon as peace was restored, he resumed his former purpose of completing this city, which he intended to render the most flourishing in the whole country. In this he succeeded so far, by the means of franchises granted to the inhabitants, that in a short time it made a distinguished figure, and carried on a most extensive commerce. In consequence of this sudden prosperity it was highly elated, and became too great even for its own princes, especially after it had entered into the Hanseatic alliance. He likewise rebuilt Ilowe and some other towns; to people which, swarms of Germans flocked from all parts, encouraged by extraordinary privileges; yet he governed those new subjects with an absolute authority; neither controuled by the sway of any foreign prince, nor subject to the check of any diet or assembly of states. In short, he was a second Romulus, the founder and the father of his country*.

and builds
several
towns.

BUT Pribislaus, not content with repeopling his country, and promoting the temporal felicity of the inhabitants, resolved most scrupulously to comply with the late treaty, in what related to their spiritual welfare, and to the cause of the Christian

1167.
He promotes
the Christian
religion.

* Helmold. Crantz. Corner, Rixner, Ungnad. Amænit. Diplom. hist. Jur. Bacmeister Antiq. Rost. Lindenberg Chron. Rost. Kirchberg, Beehr. Kluver, Struvens.

religion.

religion. He was solemnly baptized at Luneburg by the abbot of St. Michael on the hill, and his example was followed by a multitude of his old subjects. Churches were erected by his order in different places, and missionaries appointed to instruct the ignorant vulgar, and awaken them to a sense of their duty by sermons and exhortations. He confirmed the bishoprics and other ecclesiastical foundations made by duke Henry, and augmented the lands assigned for the maintenance of the clergy. But the bishopric of Mecklenburg was removed to Schwerin; and the district of Butzow was set apart for the support of that see. In a word, Pribislaus shewed himself a sincere convert from idolatry, and during the remainder of his reign acted as zealously in propagating, as he had done before in opposing, the cause of Christianity.

1168.
Crusade
against the
Rugians.

It was not long after this prince's conversion, that he had an opportunity of shewing his zeal for the propagation of religion, by joining in a crusade, which Waldemar king of Denmark, and Casimir and Bogislaus princes of Pomerania, had lately undertaken against the Rugians, the only defenders of idolatry among the Venedi. In those days the sword was the great support of Christianity; and by a fatal contagion, the very prince who had complained so lately against persecution, was now become a champion for that barbarous doctrine. It must however be acknowledged, that Pribislaus was influenced on this occasion by another motive, namely, the desire of obliging his new ally Henry the Lion, at whose request he embarked in the expedition. Waldemar having fitted out a considerable fleet, more to extend his dominions than Christianity, made a descent in Rugen; and after ravaging different parts of the country, and committing the most horrid barbarities, he laid siege to Arcona. This was the capital of the island, extremely well fortified by art, and still stronger by nature. Its situation was on a high promontory, now called Cape de Wirtow, opposite to Mona, an island belonging to Denmark. The spot on which this town stood, is called Orkund by the present inhabitants. It was surrounded on all sides by steep precipices, except towards the west,

west, which was defended by a wall fifty feet high, and by a very deep and wide ditch: yet was this siege conducted with such skill and resolution, that the town at length was obliged to surrender upon such conditions as Waldemar thought proper to require. These were, that the Rugians should embrace Christianity; should restore the Danish prisoners without ransom; and should pay forty silver yokes for oxen, by way of yearly tribute. The Rugian princes Jaromar and Witflaus accepted of these conditions; they and their people were instructed in the Christian religion; and the princes themselves soon became as zealous profelytes as Pribislaus.

THIS is the æra of the total subversion of idolatry among the Venedi. Here was the chief temple, here the throne and residence of their great god Suantevitus. This idol was of a gigantic size, with four necks, and as many heads, two before, and two behind. Its beard was shaved, but it had long hair, and in its right hand held a horn adorned with several metals, which the priest used to fill every year with wine, in order to predict the fruits of the earth for the following year. In its left hand it had a bow; its garment was of different sorts of wood, which came down to its legs; and its feet touched the ground. Close by it lay a bridle, a saddle, and a large sword, the hilt and scabbard of which were tipped with silver. If upon the approach of autumn, the horn was found to be still filled with wine, the priest predicted a plentiful year; but if the wine was diminished, it foreboded a scarcity. Then he poured out the wine on the feet of the idol, and replenished the horn. Such was the superstition of those infatuated people. But now the temple of Suantevitus being destroyed in this war, the idol was dragged with a rope about its neck through the Danish army, in the presence of the Rugians; afterwards hewn in pieces, and committed to the flames. The vast treasures which had been amassed by a tax on the votaries of this deity, were delivered up to king Waldemar.

Idolatry suppressed in Rugen.

THE

Origin of
idolatry in
Rugen.

THE origin of this idolatrous worship, as related by Helmoldus *, is an object worthy of our curiosity. The emperor, Lewis the Debonnaire, having founded the abbey of Corvey in Westphalia, caused the relics of St. Vitus to be removed from France in 836, to the church belonging to this abbey. His son, the emperor Lotharius, made a vow to St. Vitus, on the eve of this saint's festival, that if he proved victorious in the battle he was upon the point of fighting against a Pagan king of Rugen, he would invest the monks of Corvey with the property of that island. The emperor gained the battle, and fulfilled his vow. In consequence of this success, the monks came and preached the gospel to the Rugians; great numbers were converted, and a church or chapel was erected in honour of St. Vitus, as patron or tutelar saint of the place. But the Rugians afterwards relapsing into their ancient errors, expelled the monks, and renounced the Christian religion. However, as they had a confused idea of the power of St. Vitus, they constituted him their principal deity; and erected in honour of his name an idol called Suantevitus, by corruption from St. Vitus. This idol was celebrated above all others for oracular responses, throughout the whole country of the Venedi. The high priest who officiated in this temple, received more homage and respect than the king himself, having an absolute command over the consciences of the laity. They sometimes offered up human sacrifices, which were reckoned the most acceptable of all others to Suantevitus. And since we are upon this subject, we may venture to mention an affair that happened to some Christian merchants, who went over to Rugen, in order to purchase a cargo of herrings, for which that island was in those days particularly remarkable. They had in their company a priest named Godescalcus, who visited the faithful in disguise, and performed divine service on days set apart for religious worship.

Human sacrifices.

* Buckholtz accounts for it in another manner, and says, that Suantevit signifies the White Swan, which was worshipped in Rugen and Pomerania. But the authority of Helmoldus, a cotemporary writer, is of greater weight on this occasion than that of any modern.

This

This proceeding came to the ears of the Pagan high-priest, who apprehending the craft might be in danger, resolved to prevent any farther exercise of the Christian religion. It unfortunately happened to be a very bad year for the fishery, which occasioned great uneasiness among the inhabitants. The high-priest from hence took an opportunity to summon a general assembly to the temple, where he made a long harangue, declaring that the great deity Suantevitus was highly incensed, and could be appeased in no other manner than by the blood of an infidel, who was come to pollute their island with his detestable ceremonies. The people, seized with the utmost consternation, ran immediately to the merchants, and desired them to deliver up the priest, as an acceptable sacrifice to their god Suantevitus. The merchants refusing to comply, the Rugians endeavoured to gain their point by bribery, and offered a hundred marks for the priest's head. This proving unsuccessful, they threatened to have recourse to violence; and next morning would have surely put their menaces in execution, had not the merchants completed their cargoes, and set sail that very night. Thus were those superstitious wretches prevented from complying with the sanguinary orders of their crafty director, and from violating those laws of hospitality, which they had always held in the highest veneration. For although the Rugians were such inveterate enemies to Christianity, they were still a most hospitable nation; a character indeed for which all the Venedi were celebrated. But such is the power of superstition, that it will often excite a whole people to act inconsistently with their national character, and to violate every tie of nature, and every dictate of humanity*.

DURING these transactions, the confederate princes had vented all their malice against Henry the Lion, whom they found, however, prepared for his defence. Christian, count of Oldenburg, possessed himself of the city of Bremen, and the seve-

1166.
Henry the
Lion attack-
ed by the
confederates.

* Helmold. Chron. Slav. lib. 2. c. 12.

ral towns on the Weser, subject to the duke of Saxony; at the same time the troops commanded by Wickman, archbishop of Magdeburg, were in full march to join those of Hildesheim, in order to invade the country of Brunswick. Henry, with the utmost expedition, led his forces into the archbishopric of Magdeburg, which prevented the junction of the two prelates. Then ravaging the whole province, he turned towards Bremen, and offered battle to the Oldenburghers, who blocked up the pass of Gera. The Oldenburghers declining an engagement, Henry pretended to retreat: this deceived the enemy, who marched home directly; when the duke returning with his army, took Bremen by storm. The town was plundered, and the citizens, who had saved themselves by flight, were obliged to pay above a thousand marks for permission to return to their former habitations. Count Christian retired into the morasses of Friseland, and did not long survive this disaster. Henry then marched with his whole army, and arrived in the neighbourhood of Oldenburg, but was disappointed that time in his aim of taking the town. However, he succeeded soon after by means of a quarrel between the burghers and the garrison, which he improved so much to his advantage, that he took the town by surprize. The archbishop of Bremen, conscious of his guilt, withdrew with the utmost precipitation to Magdeburg, whither he was pursued by duke Henry. At length this war was terminated by the interposition of the emperor Frederick, who having lost a great part of his army by the plague in Italy, thought it necessary to appease the troubles in Saxony, in order to obtain a reinforcement of troops. At the emperor's request, Henry made a stop in the midst of his conquests, and shewed his singular moderation in granting the most favourable terms to his enemies. Thus was a confederacy dissolved, which seemed to threaten the ruin of this gallant prince, and the extirpation of his whole family. About this time he is said to have caused a lion to be cast of brass, with his mouth open, to signify that he would behave towards his enemies with the same intrepidity as that princely animal. The lion was erected at

Brunswick, opposite the castle of Danowerdrode, where this ancient monument is still extant.*.

HENRY having thus restored tranquility to his subjects, thought of establishing his domestic happiness, by celebrating his nuptials with the princess Matilda, or Maud, the daughter of Henry II. king of England. He had been already married to Clementia, duchess of Zaringen; but the clergy complaining of this match on account of consanguinity, he was divorced from that princess in 1162. By her he had issue two daughters: one died an infant, after having been betrothed to Canute prince of Denmark; the other, named Richenza, was married first to Frederick, son of the emperor Conrad III. which Frederick died of the plague in Italy; secondly to Canute, son of Waldemar prince of Denmark. The emperor Frederick is said to have proposed this match for him, and to have engaged Reginald, archbishop of Cologne, to go over to England, in order to negotiate this alliance. The princess was contracted to Henry in 1167; and the earls of Arundel and Striguil conducted her to Brunswick, in order to solemnize the nuptials in 1168. We have been the more particular in regard to this match of Henry the Lion with the princess Matilda, as the English, Saxon, Norman, and Scottish blood, was thereby transmitted to their illustrious descendant the reigning sovereign of Great Britain †.

1168.
Henry the
Lion espouses
the princess
Matilda of
England.

THE nuptial rejoicings were scarce over, when Henry hearing of king Waldemar's success against the Rugians, and that he had carried off a great many hostages for payment of the tribute, sent a messenger to that prince, demanding an equal number of the hostages, and a moiety of the tribute, in pursuance of a private treaty between them. Waldemar refused to comply with the demand, under pretence that Henry had not contributed his share to the expedition; though Pribislaus and the Pomeranian princes had assisted the Danes on that occasion, merely at Henry's request. So ungenerous an answer gave

1169.
War between
Henry the
Lion and the
king of Den-
mark.

* Helmold. lib. 2. Script. Brunsvic.

† Diceto. Brompt. Hoved. Matt. Paris.

great offence to the duke of Saxony, who expressed the highest resentment at the affront, and vowed vengeance for so flagrant a violation of treaty. With this view he invited Pribislaus, and the princes of Pomerania, to a conference, in which he acquainted them with the whole state of the affair, laying open his grievance, and desiring their advice and assistance. The princes, with one accord, declared their disapprobation of Waldemar's conduct; and in consequence of a new treaty signed by the respective parties, they granted letters of marque to their subjects, to cruize against the Danes. The Venedi*, overjoyed at the opportunity of renewing hostilities against their hereditary enemies, fitted out a great number of privateers, which scoured the Baltic; and making frequent descents on the Danish coast, carried off a multitude of prisoners. These were afterwards sold for slaves; and at Mecklenburg particularly, the historian Helmoldus says, he saw seven hundred of them exposed to public sale. This is a farther proof of the barbarity of the age, that even after the establishment of Christianity, the custom of enslaving captives in war should still be preserved. The news of these depredations gave great uneasiness to Waldemar, who determining to retaliate the injuries done to his subjects, marched a considerable army to the frontiers of the Venedi. But the inhabitants of those parts had taken care to bury their most valuable effects, and to remove with their wives and children into the woods. The Danes, disappointed of their prey, found no other method of being revenged for the violences committed on their coast, than to set fire to the cottages of the poor peasants; these however being made of light mate-

* The Venedi here mentioned were chiefly the inhabitants of Pomerania, who by the writers of the middle ages were called Vandals; which name for some time after continued to the Mecklenburghers. We have mentioned this, to obviate an objection against our sometimes calling the subjects of the princes of Mecklenburg by the name of Venedi, after these people had been almost extirpated; because this has been usually practised in other countries. Thus the present inhabitants of Italy are called by the name of Italians, and the English sometimes by that of Britons; though the former are chiefly descended from Goths and Vandals; and the latter from Saxons, Danes, and Normans, not from the ancient Britons.

rials, were soon rebuilt, and at a very trifling expence. Waldemar was therefore able to do but very little damage to the Venedi; while the latter, by the number of their privateers, had it greatly in their power to harrafs and distress the Danes. These considerations induced that prince to think of coming to an accommodation with Henry; for which end he proposed an interview, in order to settle the differences between the two courts*. A congress was accordingly held on the banks of the Eyder, a river emptying itself into the Baltic, on the frontiers of the dutchies of Sleswick and Holstein. Henry is said to have behaved so haughtily on this occasion, as to refuse to cross the bridge, or enter the territory of Denmark. Waldemar on the other hand only smiled at this punctilio, and advanced half way to meet the duke of Saxony and Bavaria. The difficulties of ceremony being surmounted, matters were finally adjusted; Waldemar did justice to Henry; the spoils were equally divided, and the two princes intirely reconciled. A treaty of peace was signed, and a match also concluded between Richenza, daughter of Henry the Lion by his first wife, and Canute, the son of king Waldemar†.

UPON occasion of this interview, a very extraordinary adventure happened between Pribislaus, who accompanied the duke of Saxony, and his brother Prisclavus, who attended king Waldemar. Pribislaus being on the opposite side of the river, happened to see his brother in a boat, engaged in deep conversation with one Bernard, who was said to be the very person that slew

* Here the Danish and Saxon writers greatly differ; the former affirming this interview to have been in 1178, the latter in 1169; the former again pretending that Henry proposed the congress, in order to secure his country against the incursions of the Danes; the latter insisting that the meeting was at the request of king Waldemar. It is very common with the writers of rival nations to differ in their accounts, each favouring their own side of the question; but here the circumstance of Henry's refusing to pass the bridge, seems to determine the point in favour of the Saxon historians. For a prince who had proposed this meeting, to prevent the distress of his subjects, would never have stood so much upon ceremony with the king of Denmark.

† Helmoldus concludes his history with this peace between Waldemar and Henry; and here Arnoldus of Lubeck begins his supplement.

his father Niclotus. Fired with indignation at the sight, he could not help reprimanding the unnatural son, who could enter into connections of familiarity with such a person. But Prisclavus made this barbarous reply, That far from entertaining any prejudice against the man, he considered him as his friend, by whose means he had got rid of an impious and sacrilegious parent. Such a speech from the mouth of a son, confirms him to have been a monster, insensible to the feelings of nature and humanity. But quite different were the sentiments of Pribislaus.

Pribislaus
settles the
lordship of
Rostock on
Nicholas, his
nephew.

ABOUT this time Pribislaus shewed his regard to the memory of his brother Wertislaus, by settling the lordship of Rostock on Niclotus, or Nicholas, an only son of that unfortunate prince. This very Nicholas had been included in the treaty of peace signed in 1167, between his uncle Pribislaus and Henry the Lion. Some think he was not possessed of this principality or lordship, till after the death of Pribislaus. But this is evidently refuted from Cranzius, who affirms that Nicholas, suspecting the loyalty and affection of the gentlemen who resided in that castle, where now stands the church of St. Peter, erected on the opposite hill the fortress called the Burg or Tower, in the year 1168, at which time Pribislaus was certainly living. Yet it is probable, that during the life of Pribislaus, Nicholas had only the profits or income of that lordship, but the sovereignty still resided in his uncle, who built the town of Rostock, and founded the monastery of Dobberan within that jurisdiction *.

1170.
The convent
of Dobberan
founded.

THE founding of the convent of Dobberan was an act of devotion, according to the religion of those times, by which Pribislaus seemed to demonstrate the sincerity of his conversion. It is the common opinion, confirmed by the authority of several historians, that this famous convent was built in 1164; which is impossible in regard to Pribislaus, for this prince was at that time an exile in Pomerania: therefore, had it been founded that year, it must have been by Henry the Lion, which no one

* Cranzius, Kirchberg, Latomus, Corner, Chemnitz, Beehr, Kluver.

will

will pretend to say; or the above date must be understood of a vow made in that year (1164) by Pribislaus, to erect such a structure; and accordingly he set about it in 1167. The instrument of this foundation is lost; but that Pribislaus was the founder, appears undoubtedly from his nephew Nicholas's diploma in 1190, and is farther evinced from king Ericus's history of Denmark, where he has these words, "A. 1170, Conventus " mittitur in Dobberan Kal. Martii." Here we have the very day of the month determined. The monks of Dobberan were of the Cistercian order, whom Pribislaus had invited from the abbey of Amelungsborn. The Chronicon Riddageshusanum, and the monkish verses in the ancient picture of the church of Dobberan, make this event a year later:

Annus millenus centenus septuagenus

Et primus colitur, cum Doberan struitur.

But the year mentioned in the monkish verses, may imply the finishing of the building, though it was begun in 1167. We have been the more particular in our account of this monastery, as it afterwards became the burying-place of the illustrious princes of Mecklenburg*.

THE year following Pribislaus gave another mark of the sincerity of his conversion, as well as of his friendship for Henry the Lion, in accompanying that prince on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. As this was one of the most extraordinary expeditions of that kind, the two princes having been attended by above a thousand followers, we shall give a short narrative of their peregrination, from a cotemporary writer. After they had settled every thing relative to the administration of their dominions, they set out from Brunswick in the month of January 1171, and arrived at Ratisbon, where they were met by several of the nobility of that part of the country. From thence proceeding to Vienna, they were received by Henry duke of Austria, at some distance from that city, and treated in a sumptuous manner. Here they were

1171.
Pribislaus
accompanies
Henry the
Lion in a
pilgrimage
to the Holy
Land.

* Arnold. Lub. Cranzius, Saxo, Kirchberg, Corner, Lindenburg, Beehr, Kluver, Buckholtz.

joined

joined by the bishop of Worms, who went as ambassador from Frederick Barbarossa to the Greek emperor Emmanuel, in order to procure them a favourable reception. At Vienna they embarked on the Danube for Hungary; but their ship was dashed against a rock, and the lives of the passengers were saved with much difficulty. The vessel being repaired, they set sail again and arrived at Brandis, from whence they continued their journey by land, and passed by Belgrade. Near Ravenel, they were attacked by four numerous gangs of banditti, whom they intirely dispersed. The next stage they came to was Nissa, from whence they proceeded to Adrianople. At some distance from Constantinople, they were met by officers from the emperor Emmanuel Comnenus, who had orders to conduct the princes to his palace. Here they were sumptuously entertained, and received some valuable presents from the empress. Notwithstanding these civilities, the Latin ecclesiastics in the duke's retinue entered into a warm dispute with the Greek clergy, in regard to the procession of the Holy Ghost; and if we may believe the German historians, the disputants of their nation were triumphant. Upon this occasion we find great encomiums bestowed on Henry, abbot of Brunswick, whose arguments no Greek bishop or priest was able to withstand*. After they had indulged themselves with a few days rest, they set sail for Acre, formerly Ptolemais; in their passage encountered a terrible storm, but at length they reached the desired haven: having travelled from thence to Jerusalem, they were met at some distance by the knights templars and hospitallers, who conducted them safe to that city. Almerick, king of Jerusalem, gave them a cordial and friendly reception. In this capital they staid sixty-two days, during which, they observed every curiosity worthy of notice, and performed the usual acts of devotion. From Jerusalem they returned to Antioch, where Henry applied to Milo †, prince of the Saracens, for a safe-conduct; but notice being given them

* Arnold. Lub. 1. 3. Chron. Slav. c. 5.

† By the Arabian writers he is called Mustezi, Caliph of Syria.

by Boamundus II. prince of Antioch, that Milo had some treacherous design, they took shipping and landed at Tarsus. Thus they escaped Milo's snares, and travelling through Armenia, arrived at Heraclea, where the Turks entertained them in a most hospitable manner. Having tarried in this city a short time to refresh themselves, they took their leave of the sultan, who loaded them with presents. This civility must appear the more extraordinary, when we find that Henry disputed with the sultan about religion, charging that prince with superstition, for not believing in the Incarnation*. They proceeded then by Nicæa and Iconium to Constantinople, where the Greek emperor received the noble pilgrims again with open arms. After entertaining them in the most sumptuous manner, he made each illustrious visitor a present, at his departure, of the choicest relics in that capital. He likewise offered them other presents of gold and silver, which they refused; but the emperor would carry his courtesy so far, as to conduct his guests several leagues from his capital. They continued their journey through Hungary, and arrived safe at Brunswick, after a twelvemonth's absence in this long and dangerous peregrination†.

PRIBISLAUS, upon his return to his own dominions, was received with the greatest joy by his family, and by all his affectionate subjects. The remainder of his days was spent chiefly in works of piety and religion. Thus he had been scarce returned from his pilgrimage, when he founded a convent of Benedictine monks at Dargun, on the confines of Pomerania, and the banks of the river Peine‡. We do not find that he ever after appeared in arms, notwithstanding the war which ensued in 1177, between Henry the Lion and the princes of Pomerania. With regard to the cause of this quarrel, history

1172.
The convent
of Dargun
founded.

1177.

* The good-natured sultan answered with great temper, that it was not difficult for God to take upon him human flesh from an unspotted virgin, since he had been able to form man out of clay. Arnold. Lub.

† Arnold. Lub. Chron. Slav. lib. 3.

‡ This appears by the bull of pope Clement in 1189, published by Westphal. tom. 4.

is silent; we are only informed, that Henry led a numerous army into the enemy's country, and laid siege to Dimmin. The town was under a necessity of capitulating in three days; and the duke would have extended his conquests, had he not been recalled to the defence of his own dominions, at that time invaded by Ulric bishop of Halberstadt: then it was that the storm began to gather, which at length overwhelmed the great and mighty duke of Saxony and Bavaria*.

Pribislaus makes frequent visits to Henry the Lion.

PRIBISLAUS did not live to see this amazing revolution. Since the reconciliation between the two houses, he took frequent opportunities of visiting duke Henry, with whom he ever after lived upon the footing of intimate friendship. Hence we find him witnessing several deeds and foundations made by the duke's authority. Thus the two Diplomata Raceburgensia †, the one dated 1170. Ind. 13. Kal. Octob. the other 1171. Ind. 14. 13. Kal. Octob. are both of them signed, "Cazimarus de Dimin, Pribislaus de Miklinburg, principes Slavorum." In another deed dated Erteneburgi ad Albim anno 1174, they sign themselves, "Cazimarus de Dimin, Primislaus de Mechlenburg." The grant made by Henry the Lion, to confirm the bishopric of Schwerin §, is dated 5 Idus Dec. 1171, and signed Pribislaus de Kizin. But one of those visits at length proved fatal to Pribislaus; for a sudden accident put an end to his days in the midst of a public festivity. This happened at Christmas, in the year 1181, when he was invited by Henry to Luneburg, to partake of the diversions of a tournament. Here he had the misfortune of falling from his horse, and the weight of his armour rendered that accident mortal. Such was the fate of Pribislaus II. the last king of the Venedi, and first prince of Mecklenburg. He may be justly deemed the model of a good prince. In war he was bold and enterprizing, though unfortunate; in

1181.
Pribislaus is killed by a fall from his horse.

His character.

* Arnold. Lubec. This same year (1177) Henry began to enlarge the city of Munich in Bavaria, and finished the famous stone bridge, which his father had begun to erect over the Danube at Ratisbon in 1125.

† Apud Westphal. N^o 13 & 14.

§ Apud. Westphal. tom. 4.

his

his distresses he was patient, and ever ready to follow advice; in time of peace he acted with caution and prudence, and never failed to repair the damages sustained in war; in all his dealings with friends or foes, he was open and ingenuous; in religion he shewed himself sincere and devout; in a word, he was a prince of great accomplishments; yet more capable of promoting the welfare of his people by the arts of peace, than of extending his dominions by force of arms. By embracing Christianity he made Henry and the Saxons his friends, and established the tranquility of his country. He is the first of the family that signed himself prince of Mecklenburg and Kiffin.

SOME writers would maintain, that Pribislaus met with this misfortune at Brunswick, as Henry kept his court in that city; and that he was buried at Luneburg. The common opinion likewise places this fall in 1173, which we have indeed followed in the genealogical tables. But a modern writer of great judgment dates this accident, with the highest probability, in 1181: as according to Arnoldus of Lubeck, Henry held a dies solennis, or public rejoicing on Christmas that year at Luneburg. This is farther corroborated by some deeds of his son Burevinus in 1219; where it appears that Pribislaus was buried in St. Michael's church at Luneburg, till his ashes were removed from thence to the church of Dobberan in 1215*.

Different
opinions
about the
place and
year of his
death.

* In the church of Dobberan there are two epitaphs in memory of this prince; the first is in monkish verses:

Primus ego patrios ab Erulis liqui penates,
Atque Pribislaus credidi primus ego.
Testantur patrium gentilia praelia regum,
Quam fuerit quondam gloria nostra potens.
Hanc tamen ut domuit Saxonum Dux Leo fortis,
Hunc tibi mox placidum Christe dicavi locum.
Irrupit sævo septis ter Sarmata bello,
Qui vel quot cæsi prisca ruina docet.
Hinc Solymas adii, rediens dum Throica lusi,
Urbe cadens Lunæ tristia fata tuli.
Oblitos sed ibi cineres religio grata
Noluit, & justis condidit illa locis.
Felices semper si jura tueri nepotes
Prisca loci studeant & pia cæpta juvant.

His marriages and issue.

ACCORDING to the received accounts *, Pribislaus was thrice married: 1. to Pernilla, or Petronilla, daughter of Canute the Pious, king of the Venedi, by whom he had a son named Canute. This prince was possessed of a lordship in Fuhnen, and died in 1183, without issue. 2. His second wife was named Poislava or Voisboda, daughter of the king of Norway, by whom he had his son and successor Henry Burevinus I. 3. His third wife was Mechtildis, daughter of Boleslaus Crispus, duke of Poland, by whom he had no issue †.

CHAP. III.

Quarrel between the emperor Frederick Barbarossa and Henry the Lion. Henry is put under the ban of the empire, and obliged to retire to England.

Civil war in Germany.

THE death of Pribislaus happened at the eve of a civil war, which involved all Germany in flames; and terminated at length in the downfall of Henry the Lion. As the adventures of this prince are so greatly interwoven with the transactions of the illustrious house whose history I have undertaken to write, it will not be altogether foreign to my subject, to enter into

The other contains the title of Pribislaus, and is said to have been found by Henry duke of Mecklenburg, among the ruins of an old chapel in the forest of Dobberan. "Pribislaus Dei gratiâ, Herulorum, Wagirorum, Circipanorum, Polaborum, Obotritarum, Kiffinorum, Wandalorumque Rex, &c."

* Arnold. Lub. Cranzius, Kirchberg, Kluver, Spener, Gebhardi.

† In regard to the above marriages, M. Gebhardi observes, that the first lady had been married to his brother. The second is said by Kirchberg, to have been a daughter of the king of Norway; but he does not mention the king's name. Torfæus, an accurate writer, takes no notice of such a princess in his history of Norway. She is commended by Kirchberg, for having been greatly instrumental in converting her husband to the Christian religion. This princess had a son, Henry Burevinus I. and was interred in the church of Dobberan. In regard to the third wife, though there is no anachronism in supposing such a Polish princess, since Boleslaus Crispus had thoughts of marrying in 1151, yet M. Gebhardi will hardly admit her, as she is not mentioned by Boguphalus, or Kadlubka, cotemporary writers; neither is she to be found in Duglossius's Chronicle.

the

the particulars of that important quarrel, which produced so extraordinary a revolution in the house of Brunswick.

THE friendship which had long subsisted between Frederick Barbarossa and Henry the Lion, was first impaired by the settlement of Guelph VII. in favour of that emperor. This Guelph was uncle to Henry, and had been formerly his guardian. Having formed a resolution to retire from the world, and to spend the remainder of his days at Memmingen in Suabia, he disposed of his estates, such as Tuscany, Spoleto, Sardinia, &c. by will to his nephew; and only reserved to himself a yearly pension. Henry is said to have been dilatory in paying that pension; and from thence it arose, that Guelph took occasion to alter his will at the instigation of the emperor, and to bequeath his estate to that prince. This must naturally have given great disgust to Henry, and alienated his affection from a person, whom he had hitherto considered as his sincerest friend. On the other hand, there were not wanting, at the emperor's court, a number of noblemen, jealous of Henry's reputation and power, who seized every opportunity of misinterpreting his designs, and suggesting various matters to his disadvantage. Besides, it is not at all improbable, that the emperor himself became jealous of a vassal, whose power was risen to such a pitch, as to exceed that of any other prince or state in the empire. However that may have been, Henry growing every day less attached to the emperor's interest, the latter had the mortification of being deprived of the assistance of a powerful ally, in his wars with the revolted states of Italy.

THOSE wars took rise from the disputes in regard to the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Pope Adrian IV. died in 1159, when he was upon the point of thundering out his anathemas against Frederick Barbarossa. A schism arose in the election of a successor; Alexander III. was chosen by a majority of cardinals; and the rest gave their votes to his competitor Victor III. To determine the merits of this cause, Frederick summoned a council at Pavia, where Victor, who had been always attached to the emperor's interest,

Cause of the quarrel between the emperor and Henry the Lion.

Disputes about the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

interest, was confirmed in the pontificate. Alexander refusing to abide by this sentence, excommunicated the emperor with all his adherents, but was obliged to fly to France for protection. Mean while the emperor taking the field against the inhabitants of the revolted towns in Italy, laid siege to Milan; which being obliged at length to surrender, he ordered it to be razed, and the ground plowed and sown with salt. All Italy then submitted to the conqueror. Upon this success, he summoned the assembly of Lons le Saunier in Franche Comté, to ratify the election of Victor III. But this assembly proved ineffectual; and a council was held at Toulouse, where the election of Alexander III. was confirmed. In the intervening time the towns of Italy, at the instigation of pope Alexander, once more shook off the imperial yoke, and obliged Victor III. to take shelter with Frederick. This prince resolved therefore upon another Italian expedition.. Victor having, at his desire, set out before him, died at Lucca; and the emperor caused another to be elected in his place, to whom was given the name of Paschal III. Frederick afterwards took care to have him acknowledged as pope at the diet of Wurtzburg; a diet remarkable for the solemn declaration of all the states of Germany, That they would look upon no person as pope, whose election was not ratified by the consent of the emperor.

Disturbances
in Italy.

1166.

To settle Paschal III. on the papal throne, and to chastise the Milanese for rebuilding their city, were Frederick's motives for undertaking a fourth expedition into Italy. Having re-passed the Alps with his wife Beatrice, he made himself master of Ancona, after defeating the Roman army: from thence he directed his march to Rome, where he vanquished the Romans a second time; and seizing that capital, he obliged Alexander III. to make his escape by flight. Paschal III. took possession of St. Peter's church, and crowned the empress Beatrice. The senate and people of Rome swore allegiance to the emperor. At that very time, the principal cities in Italy entered into a confederacy against this prince, in order to get rid of the exactions and extortions of the imperial commissaries. Frederick,
in-

intending to strengthen his interest, granted privileges and immunities to many towns and noble families. But while he was preparing to reduce the revolted towns, his army was attacked by the plague, which obliged him to return to Germany.

1168.

THE emperor's retreat gave the states of Italy time to breathe. Alexander III. had taken shelter at Venice, where, among other privileges, he favoured the republic with that of espousing the Adriatic sea every year, as a mark of its sovereignty over that element. From thence he returned to Rome, and renewed his excommunications against the emperor. The states of Germany having, in the mean time, chose Henry VI. the emperor's eldest son, to succeed his father; he assumed the title of king of the Romans*, and was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle. Paschal III. died soon after, and the emperor procured another antipope to be chosen, whose name was Calixtus III. The Milanese, whom neither fire nor sword could intimidate, expressed their contempt of the emperor by building a new town, to which they gave the name of Alexandria, in honour of the reigning pope. Such was the situation of affairs, when Frederick undertook his fifth expedition to Italy against those revolted towns, which he had so often chastised, but never had been able to subdue.

1169.

1170.

1174.

IT was during this fifth expedition, that the difference arose between Frederick and Henry the Lion, which proved so fatal to the house of Brunswick. The emperor having established peace in Germany, began his march over mount Cenis, attended by a great many princes of the empire; and, among the rest, by Henry the Lion. After he had taken and destroyed Susa; the towns of Asti, Tortona, Cremona, and Como, submitted without resistance. He then laid siege to Alexandria; but the inhabitants making a vigorous sally, the Imperialists were put to flight. Frederick was obliged to pass the Po, and take shelter in the district of Pavia. This city was then besieged by the army of

Henry the Lion withdraws his troops from Frederick Barbarossa.

* This is the first instance of this title's being made use of to signify the presumptive heir to the imperial crown.

1175.

the confederate states of Italy, and almost reduced to extremity, when Frederick found means to throw succours into the place. But he was greatly disheartened at this juncture by the departure of Henry the Lion, who, notwithstanding the emperor's remonstrances and entreaties, returned to Germany with the Saxon and Bavarian forces. The motives of this sudden resolution are variously related. Some say that he had received an express from Saxony with intelligence, that the eastern Venedi, or the Pomeranians, had made a fresh irruption into his dominions, and laid waste the country with fire and sword. Others impute it to the terror of excommunication, as he was then supporting the cause of a prince who had incurred the pontifical censures. Others again pretend, that he refused to stay with the imperial army, unless Frederick would put him in possession of the town of Goslar, the only place in Saxony belonging to the emperor. But perhaps the real motive was the emperor's accepting of Guelph VII.'s will, which happened much about this time. Whatever may have been the reason, the emperor held a diet at Chiavenna, a town of Italy, now belonging to the Grisons; with a view to treat with the confederates, and to obtain succours from his allies. But this meeting did not answer his aim. All hopes of pacification vanishing, hostilities were renewed, and the siege of Pavia was raised. In the mean while, the emperor having received a reinforcement of troops from Germany, under the command of Philip, archbishop of Cologne; a battle ensued in the neighbourhood of Signano, where the confederates obtained a complete victory over the imperial forces. At the same time his eldest son Henry was defeated at sea, and taken prisoner by the Venetians. This reverse of fortune obliged him to enter into a treaty of reconciliation with Alexander III. which was concluded at Venice in 1177. The substance of it was, that Frederick should acknowledge Alexander III. as pope; be absolved from his excommunication, and restore the allodial estates of the countess Matilda to the see of Rome.

The emperor
and the pope
reconciled.

1177.

DURING

DURING these transactions in Italy, Henry the Lion was at war with Ulric, bishop of Halberstat, whom he had expelled from his see; and with Philip, archbishop of Cologne, who headed a faction against him in Westphalia. It was Henry's misfortune to be continually at variance with the bishops; as it was the emperor's fate to be quarrelling with the pope: and both with the same unprosperous success. These disturbances were attributed to Henry's ambition, but were in fact owing to the over-grown power and imperious temper of the clergy, Jealous of every prince who would not be subject to their yoke, they spared no pains to establish their absolute dominion. Frederick was pleased to hear of these commotions, as they might afford him an opportunity of shewing his resentment to Henry. He then resided at Spire, whither Henry repaired, to complain of the depredations and violences committed by those factious, turbulent prelates. The emperor hereupon summoned a diet at Worms, where both parties were to appear; and Henry was to answer to the accusations of his enemies. In default of Henry's appearance, Frederick deferred the trial till the next diet, which was to be held at Magdeburg. To this assembly Henry likewise declined coming, deterred, perhaps, by the too great number of his enemies. However, he desired an interview with the emperor at Haldensleben, which was granted. Here he justified himself in so ample and satisfactory a manner, that Frederick proposed to accommodate matters, on condition he would pay five thousand marks of silver to the imperial treasury. This proposal he rejected, as oppressive and detrimental to his honour; upon which he was put under the ban of the empire. But some of his relations interceding in his favour, the emperor delayed the execution of the sentence, and convoked a diet at Gelnhausen in Wetteravia. Henry being still sensible that his judges would be at the same time his accusers, refused to appear, and protested against the proceedings of this assembly. His chief accusers were the archbishops of Magdeburg and Bremen, with the bishops of Halberstat, Hildesheim, and Freisingen, who charged him with great outrages and de-

1178.
Henry the
Lion at war
with the con-
federates in
Germany.

Is summoned
to appear at
the diet.

1179.
Is summoned
a second
time.

1180.

Is put under
the ban of
the empire,

and stripped
of his domi-
nions,

predations committed in their respective territories. The emperor himself accused him of withdrawing his troops from Italy, and bringing an indelible disgrace on the imperial arms. The former sentence was therefore confirmed; and Henry being declared guilty of high treason, his honours, fiefs, and other dignities, were divided among several noblemen. The dukedom of Saxony, with the circle of Wittenberg, was given to Bernard of Anhalt, the youngest son of Albert, margrave of Brandenburg; this is what afterwards was called the electorate of Saxony. The duchies of Angria and Westphalia were conferred on Philip, archbishop of Cologne, Henry's most inveterate foe; the county of Holstein, which had been hitherto held of the duchy of Saxony, was declared independent; the archbishop of Mentz seized the district of Eichsfeld; the archbishop of Bremen acquired the county of Stade; the bishops of Paderborn, Munster, Halberstat, Hildesheim, Verden, and Munden, possessed themselves of those lordships that best suited their conveniency. The landgraves of Thuringia took possession of the county palatine of Saxony. The dukedom of Bavaria was granted to Otho of Wittelsbach, count palatine of Bavaria, founder of the present electoral houses of Bavaria and the Palatinate. The counts of Stiria, Carinthia, and Tyrol, hitherto subject to the dukes of Bavaria, were declared immediate vassals of the empire. Lubeck and Ratisbon became free imperial cities. Pomerania and Mecklenburg were rendered independent of Saxony; and the emperor took possession of the Guelphic states, which Henry's uncle possessed in Suabia and in Italy. The dismembering of so many fine provinces, gave rise to the picture of a beautiful horse torn in pieces and devoured by ravenous beasts and birds of prey; the former denoting his secular enemies, the other the bishops: each has a part of the mangled animal in his mouth; one the head, the other a foot, a third the tongue, a fourth a leg, a fifth an eye, a sixth the milt, a seventh the horse-shoe, &c. and nothing is saved but the heart, which is Brunswick and Luneburg, the countries which at last remained in possession of the house of Brunswick.

THE

THE ban was first published at Wurtzburg, and afterwards at Gemunden in Suabia, the place of Henry's nativity. The care of executing this sentence was committed to the nobility and clergy among whom the duke's fiefs were distributed. There happened at that time to be a number of martial prelates in Germany, all combined against Henry. They now broke into his dominions, like so many wild animals in search of prey, and committed the most horrid barbarities. No respect was shewn even to objects the most sacred: churches and monasteries were plundered and destroyed; nuns ravished in the very churches, and afterwards sold for slaves; priests insulted in the time of divine service, and the sacred vessels snatched out of their hands from the altar; and this by Christian troops, headed by ecclesiastic commanders*. But the experience of all ages has shewn, that the love of gain, or the avidity of plunder, is apt to harden the human heart, and render men equally deaf to the cries of nature, and unmindful of the precepts of religion.

1181.
Princes appointed to execute the ban.

IN the mean time, Henry was neither idle nor dismayed; he protested against the resolutions of the diet, as arising from the machinations of his enemies. Then assembling an army, he marched to Lubeck, in expectation of concluding an alliance with the king of Denmark; but being disappointed of his aim, he returned to Brunswick. At this very juncture, Ulric bishop of Halberstat, one of the militant prelates, having recourse at first to spiritual weapons, excommunicated the duke, and laid all the churches in his dominions, belonging to the diocese of Halberstat, under an interdict. Such was the superstition of those days, that this Lion, who, to use the expression of a contemporary writer, had made all Germany tremble with his roar, was seized with a panic at the drawing of this spiritual sword. He repaired to Halberstat, made his submission to the bishop, received absolution, and the interdict was taken off. At his return, hearing of the barbarities committed by the

Henry makes a stand against them.

* Philip archbishop of Cologne, Wickman archbishop of Magdeburg. Arnold. l. 2. c. 25.

army of the archbishop of Cologne in Westphalia, he assembled his forces, marched against Philip, and coming up with him near Hallerfelde in Westphalia, he gained a complete victory.

Henry's suc-
cess against
the bishop of
Halberstat.

DURING these disturbances, Ulric bishop of Halberstat, who had excommunicated Henry, and to whom this prince had been so lately reconciled, not satisfied with the duke's submission, but grasping at part of the plunder, invaded his dominions, and committed numberless outrages; such as setting fire to towns, killing and destroying the people, or carrying them into captivity. Yet this hypocritical prelate concealed the barbarity of his disposition under a pious outside, and was by the ignorant of those days considered as a person of extraordinary sanctity. Henry sent a strong body of forces against Halberstat, who possessed themselves of that city, and set it on fire. The old bishop was taken prisoner, and carried to Brunswick. Though Henry had reason to be highly incensed at Ulric's behaviour, yet hearing of the conflagration of Halberstat, and seeing the grey-headed prelate led in triumph, he could not help shedding tears. However, he did not release Ulric immediately, but sent him to Herteneburg, where he was treated with all possible respect: the duchess Matilda, who was a most humane princess, took particular care that the old bishop should be provided with necessaries; and, what strongly characterises the bigotry of the times, she made his situation easy to him even by her own personal attendance. At length she prevailed with the duke to set him at liberty, which was accordingly done by a treaty concluded at Luneburg on Christmas-day. The bishop was soon after taken ill at Hufenburg, and departed this life July 30th, 1182.

Henry's far-
ther successes.

THE duke having accommodated matters with the bishop of Halberstat, marched a considerable army into the duchy of Magdeburg, and from thence penetrated into Thuringia, where he made himself master of Northausen and Mulhausen. Then passing the district of Eichsfeld, he attacked the landgrave Lewis of Thuringia, who was intirely defeated and taken prisoner, together with his brother Herman count palatine. The news of these

these successes alarmed the emperor, who finding there was no probability of reducing the duke, but by an extraordinary exertion of force, resolved to march against him in person. Two years were elapsed since the publication of the ban, and yet Henry had defended himself with such intrepidity, that his enemies were not likely to dispossess him of a single village. He continued to face them on every side, and whoever attacked him, was almost sure of being repulsed.

1182.
Frederick
Barbarossa
resolves to
march a-
gainst him in
person.

FREDERICK BARBAROSSA, determining to execute the sentence of the diet, assembled a powerful army, and marched into Bavaria. Ratibon at first made some resistance, but, upon the emperor's favouring it with the dignity of a free imperial city, it immediately submitted; which example was followed by all the other towns in that duchy. From thence he led his troops into the country of Brunswick, where four of Henry's chief officers deserted their master, and surrendered the strong forts of Woldenberg, Lichtenberg, Lawenburg, and Blanckenburg, in one day. Frederick having nominated the archbishop of Cologne to the government of Brunswick, proceeded with his army to Hanover, which city was soon obliged to capitulate. Whether it was the reputation of the emperor's arms, or the terror of his name, or the number of his forces, there prevailed a general defection amongst Henry's officers, and he soon found himself deserted even by his intimate friends.

The empe-
ror's succe-
ses against
Henry.

Thus pressed on every side, Henry retreated to Bardewick, at that time a strong and opulent city in the duchy of Luneburg; but to his great surprize and mortification, he was denied admittance by his own treacherous subjects. From thence he repaired to Lubeck, and after providing in the best manner he could for the defence of that city, upon the emperor's approach he withdrew to Stade. Frederick crossed the Elbe with his whole army, and marched towards Lubeck, intending to lay siege to that place. But as it was necessary to detach Waldemar, king of Denmark, from Henry's interests, he proposed a double match between his two sons, and two daughters of his Danish majesty. This proposal was accepted, and Waldemar equipped

Henry retires
to Stade.

Siege of Lu-
beck.

equipped a grand fleet, with which he blocked up the mouth of the Trave, while Frederick carried on the siege by land. The Lubeckers made a most obstinate defence; but despairing at length of succours, they commissioned their bishop to repair to the emperor's camp, in order to propose terms of capitulation. They obtained the most honourable and advantageous conditions. The emperor confirmed all their privileges, exempted them from any subjection to Henry, and declared Lubeck a free imperial city.

Henry obtains an audience of the emperor.

AFTER the surrender of Lubeck, the emperor marched his army back into the neighbourhood of Luneburg, where he received a message from the duke at Stade, expressing his submission, and desiring to be admitted to his imperial majesty's presence. An audience at length was granted; the unfortunate duke begged with the utmost humility, that his majesty would vouchsafe to shew him some favour, and that he might be restored at least to part of his dominions. Frederick, affected by his misfortunes, laid the blame of what had passed on the princes of the empire, and referred him to the diet that was to be held at Quedlinburg. Here some of Henry's former friends, commiserating his case, endeavoured to have him restored; but a violent dispute arising between Henry and duke Bernard, who was a favourite of the emperor, and had got possession of Saxony, Frederick was obliged to dissolve the assembly, and to defer the examination of this affair till the meeting of another diet at Erfurt. But before it could take place, Sifrid, archbishop of Bremen, seized the county of Stade, a fief belonging to Henry the Lion; and count Adolphus was again put in possession of Holstein.

Henry appears before the diet of Erfurt.

REDUCED to this distress, Henry thought proper to appear at the diet of Erfurt. Here he threw himself at the emperor's feet, and intirely submitted to his mercy. So striking an instance of the mutability of human grandeur, could not but affect the great Barbarossa; he beheld prostrate and humbled in affliction, a prince nearly allied to him; a prince who had once preserved his life, and whom he had since greatly respected and

and loved; a prince who had made all Germany tremble, and who had so lately subdued the warlike Venedi: moved with this spectacle, he rose from his seat, lifted him up from the ground, embraced him, and could not forbear shedding tears. Henry endeavoured to acquit himself of the crimes which had been laid to his charge; but such was the animosity of his enemies, and so greatly were they interested in his ruin, that the emperor finding it impracticable to withdraw his fiefs out of the hands of the different princes on whom they had been conferred; and apprehending a disaffection of the states of the empire, advised Henry to retire to England, till the rancour of his enemies subsided, and means could be found out for reinstating him in his former possessions. A decree then passed, enjoining Henry to quit the empire for three years, and not to return in that time, unless he were recalled by the emperor. He was permitted, however, to retain his allodial estate, consisting of the territories of Brunswick and Luneburg. Henry finding himself under a necessity of giving way to the fury of his enemies, chose England for the place of his exile, and set out on Easter-day, 1182, with the duchess Matilda for Normandy, where his father-in-law king Henry II. then resided. From thence he made a pilgrimage to Compostella or St. Jago in Spain; and returning the same year to Normandy, he embarked for England in 1184, where he safely arrived in company with king Henry. That very year his duchess Matilda was delivered at Winchester of her youngest son William, surnamed Longaspatha, from whom the present illustrious house of Brunswick is descended. Here we shall leave Henry for a time, and return to the affairs of Mecklenburg*.

He is banished the empire for three years.

* Arnold. Lubec. Scriptorum Brunsvic. Aventin. Annal. Bojor. Barre, Pfeffel, Heisse.

C H A P. IV.

Henry Burevinus I. succeeds his father Pribislaus. Quarrels with his cousin Nicholas. Sides with the duke of Pomerania against Denmark, is taken prisoner, and obliged to pay homage to that crown. Henry the Lion returns from England, and endeavours to recover his dominions. Death of Henry the Lion.

II. HENRY BUREVINUS I.

The second PRINCE of MECKLENBURG*.

From 1181 to 1227.

EMPERORS of GERMANY,

FREDERICK I. BARBAROSSA,	1152.
HENRY VI. - - - - -	1190.
PHILIP - - - - -	1197.
OTHO IV. - - - - -	1208.
FREDERICK II. - - - - -	1212.

KINGS of ENGLAND,

HENRY II. - - - - -	1154.
RICHARD I. - - - - -	1189.
JOHN - - - - -	1199.
HENRY III. - - - - -	1216.

1181.
Insurrection
of the Venedi.

THE melancholy tidings of the death of Pribislaus had scarce reached the country of Mecklenburg, when several of the Venedic nobility, who had embraced Christianity, rather through complaisance to their prince than from inward

* It seems to us very probable, that Henry Burevinus was the only son of Pribislaus, and we found our opinion on the third Diploma Doberanense, in which that prince says, " We Henry Burevinus, prince of Mecklenburg and Kiffin, reflecting
" on the charitable donations made by our father Pribislaus, prince of the Slavi,
have

conviction, assembled in a tumultuous manner, put all the monks of the monastery of Dobberan to death, and razed that new building to the ground. Nicholas, the son of Wertislaus, on whom Pribislaus had settled the lordship of Rostock, hearing of these outrages, endeavoured to prevent their progress, and to punish the delinquents. With this view he collected a body of troops, and marched in quest of the rebels, whom he found more numerous than he expected. An obstinate engagement ensued, in which the forces of Nicholas were intirely routed, and he himself escaped with great difficulty. The battle was fought the 11th of Dec. 1181: after this defeat, Henry Burevinus undertook to reduce the revolted, not by the terror of the sword, but by gentle persuasion; and such success had he in his negotiation, that they laid down their arms, and submitted to the authority of their sovereign: a conquest, as Cranzius observes, of all others the most glorious, to calm the storm of sedition, and subdue the minds of stubborn rebels, by the power of eloquence. The monastery of Dobberan was

“ have endowed the monastery of Dobberan with these lands and possessions, which
 “ include our father's grants, with the consent of our sons Henry and Nicholas.
 “ Given in the year of our lord 1192, in the second year of the pontificate of pope
 “ Celestine III.” Now this pope was raised to the see of Rome in 1191, according
 to the Chronicon Ricardi apud Muratorium, tom. 3. So that in the second year of
 that pontificate, viz. in 1192, Burevinus might make use of the testimony of his
 sons, now arrived at age of puberty. We have made this remark, to prevent any per-
 son from being led into an error by Kirchberg, who asserts that Woisclava was
 brought to-bed of Henry at the time that her husband was abroad on his pilgrimage,
 viz. in 1172. But this is impossible, unless we suppose that Henry was married the
 very year he was born. For it is manifest, that in the war which he waged in 1184
 against his cousin Nicholas, he had a son of sufficient age to be a hostage. We
 find likewise that Arnoldus Lub. mentions him in 1183, as having been married
 some time to princess Matilda, the daughter of Henry the Lion. Besides, if Pribi-
 slauss had an elder son who settled in Denmark, and died there in 1183, how comes
 it that he did not succeed to the whole, or to a part of his father's dominions? We
 must therefore conclude, either that Henry Burevinus was the only son of Pribislaus,
 or that if Canute were Henry's elder brother, he died before his father, since no no-
 tice is taken of him in the succession.

rebuilt by Nicholas in a more sumptuous manner, and endowed with a more ample revenue *.

Quarrel between Burevinus I. and his cousin Nicholas.

FROM this insurrection it plainly appears, that the number of the Venedi who remained in that country after the restoration of Pribislaus, was not so inconsiderable as is commonly represented; and from the manner in which Henry Burevinus quieted that disturbance, one would naturally have expected all the happy effects of a wise administration. But soon after a fatal dissension arose between Henry and his cousin Nicholas, which involved the family in a civil war, and reduced it for some time to a foreign dependence. This war is commonly attributed to the ambition of the two cousins, who quarrelled at first about the partition of their dominions. Nicholas was desirous that Henry Burevinus should resign the country possessed by that prince's father Pribislaus, in exchange for the lordship of Rosstock. Should this have been the case, the crime of ambition could be imputed only to Nicholas. But the true origin of this quarrel was the downfall of Henry the Lion. Henry Burevinus had married that prince's daughter Matilda, and espoused his cause when he was attacked by the grand confederacy. On the other hand, Nicholas having married the daughter of Albert the Bear, margrave of Brandenburg, joined with his father-in-law, the inveterate enemy of Henry the Lion. This was the source of the first quarrel that arose between the two cousins, which was heightened afterwards by the pretensions of Nicholas to Henry's dominions. The misunderstanding at length ripened into a war, of which we have the following particulars.

1183.
War in Saxony, in which the two cousins are concerned.

AFTER the exile of Henry the Lion, Bernard duke of Saxony (the youngest son of Albert the Bear) instead of being terrified by that prince's example, began to harass his subjects with grievous extortions, and greatly to encroach on all his neighbours. But his designs seemed to be levelled chiefly against Adolphus count of Holstein, Bernard count of Ratzeburg, and Gunzelin count of Schwerin. These noblemen, provoked at

* Cranzius, Arnold. Lubec. Kirchberg.

his

his ill treatment, joined their forces for their mutual defence, and marched towards Lawenburg, to which they immediately laid siege. This city had been built the preceding year by duke Bernard, on a hill near the Elbe and the Stecknitz in Lower Saxony. But as we shall have frequent occasion to make mention of this place in the course of our history, it will be proper to enter into a circumstantial account both of the town and adjacent territory.

LAWENBURG was originally only a castle, built the preceding year out of the ruins of Erteneburg, a feat of Henry the Lion, when that prince was an exile in England. It was demolished, as we shall presently find, after this very siege, by the count of Holstein, but was rebuilt again by the emperor's orders. In 1189 Henry the Lion made himself master of it again, and defended it against Bernard duke of Saxony. It was afterwards seized by Adolphus count of Holstein, who was obliged to resign it to Waldemar II. king of Denmark, in order to procure his liberty. This prince created his sister's son, the brave count Albert of Orlemunde, governor of Lawenburg; who being made prisoner at the battle of Bornhovede by the count of Schwerin, delivered it up to that prince for his ransom. The count of Schwerin afterwards made a present of it to Albert duke of Saxony, for his assistance in that important war. By a treaty of succession between Magnus duke of Brunswick, and Eric duke of Saxe Lawenburg in 1369, it was agreed it should devolve to the surviving family. The failure of the latter happening in 1689, by the decease of duke Julius Francis, George William duke of Zell took possession of it, though there had been several claims made by other princes. George duke of Zell dying in 1705, it descended to Ernest, father of king George I. in whose posterity it has since continued. It is now a considerable town for trade in corn and wood, having the conveniency of the navigation of the Elbe. Hence it is a principal thorough-fare for goods brought up that river, which are afterwards consigned down the Stecknitz to Lubeck. The toll on the Elbe produces also a handsome revenue. Formerly there

Description
of Lawen-
burg.

was a ducal palace erected on an eminence within the town ; but now there is only one wing of it remaining, in which are the courts of justice, and from whence they have a delightful prospect of the adjacent country. The whole district of Lawenburg is very level, the soil fruitful, producing plenty of grain. It was anciently part of Slavia Transalбина, and its inhabitants were the Polabi, a tribe of the Western Slavi or Venedi, confining on the Elbe, and whom we have often had occasion to mention in the second book of this History. But to return to the operations of the war*.

War between
Denmark
and Pomerania.

1182.

THE siege of Lawenburg was carried on with great vigour, and in a few days the town or castle (for it was then very little more) being obliged to capitulate, was razed to the ground. Duke Bernard, instead of marching against the counts, made his complaint to the emperor Frederick Barbarossa, who was then too much engaged to give him any assistance. Canute king of Denmark, having lately succeeded his father king Waldemar, Frederick summoned that prince to attend the Aulic council in person, and to do homage as a vassal of the empire. But Canute disdaining any such submission, the emperor persuaded Bogislaus, on whom he had conferred the investiture of Pomerania, to make war against Denmark. In this dispute several other princes were involved, and among the rest, for the reasons specified above, the two cousins Burevinus and Nicholas. Unluckily these two princes embraced different sides of the question ; Nicholas joined with duke Bernard, who had espoused the cause of Canute, merely out of resentment to the emperor ; and Burevinus entered into an alliance with Bogislaus, who had been promised liberal supplies of men and money from Barbarossa. Burevinus is also supposed to have been instigated by Frederick I. to join in the quarrel against the Danes, in order to prevent Canute from adding the country of the Venedi to the rest of his dominions.

* Cranzius Saxonia, Wolter Chron. Brem. Arnold. Lub. Chron. Slav. Zeiler. Topograph. Saxon. Inferior. Barre, Present State of Germany.

SUCH was the situation of affairs, when the three counts hearing of the engagements which Nicholas had lately contracted with duke Bernard, resolved to treat him as an enemy to the empire. With this design they collected a strong body of troops, and marching in the dead of the night into the territory subject to Nicholas, they surprized the town of Ilowe, in which his mother usually resided *. They drove that princess away, and made all the inhabitants prisoners; after which they set the town on fire, according to the barbarous practice of the times, ravaged the open country, and returned with a prodigious booty. Nicholas was obliged to fly, and take shelter with duke Bernard, who was then in Havelberg, while Burevinus seized the towns of Rostock and Mecklenburg, which had been settled on his cousin by Pribislaus. Provoked at this treatment, Nicholas flung himself into the arms of the enemies of his country; and being assisted by Otho marquis of Brandenburg, he made frequent incursions into Burevinus's territories, where he laid all before him waste with fire and sword. In the mean time, Bogislaus being disappointed in his attempt to gain over Jarimar prince of Rugen, prepared to invade that island, while he was amusing the prince, as well as the court of Denmark, with negotiations. Jarimar, who was uncle to king Canute, acquainted the king with these transactions, and neglected no precaution necessary for making a gallant defence. He even was before-hand with the enemy, having made incursions into the territory bordering on the river Peine. Burevinus, to shew his zeal in the cause, fitted out a small squadron, and landed some forces in the isle of Rugen, where he had the misfortune to be taken prisoner. This circumstance gave great satisfaction to Jarimar, knowing of what advantage it would be to the Danes to have a person of that rank in their custody. He therefore sent him away under a strong convoy immediately to Canute, who ordered him to be kept in close confinement. But Burevinus's good fortune

1183.
The two
cousins en-
gage on op-
posite sides.

They are
both taken
prisoners.

* The wife of prince Wertislaus, who was hanged by Henry the Lion: I do not find this princess's name mentioned in history.

would have it, that very soon after this event, Niclotus making an irruption into Pomerania, fell into the hands of Bogislaus, from whom he met with the same treatment as his cousin Burevinus had done from Canute, and was reserved for an exchange, whenever the Dane would consent to set the other at liberty. Such was the fate of the two princes of Mecklenburg (for by this appellation we henceforward shall stile this illustrious line) whose domestic variances involved their country in civil broils, and had like to have terminated in the ruin of the family*.

Success of the
Danish arms
against Po-
merania.

BOGISLAUS had now equipped so formidable a fleet, that he acquainted Barbarossa he should shortly have it in his power to bring Canute to his imperial majesty's terms. But he was greatly mistaken in his account; for Absalom the Danish minister was no sooner informed of Bogislaus's preparations, than he published an order for all able-bodied men in the Danish islands, within a certain age, to assemble under arms. The king being then absent in Jutland, the minister thought it might be attended with some danger to wait for his instructions. A fleet was therefore fitted out with the utmost expedition, and the troops were embarked and under sail, before Bogislaus had notice of this armament. The minister himself took upon him the command of the fleet, as well as of the land forces, and dispersed directions among the officers, regulating their manner of engaging, and encouraging them to behave like gallant men. Then falling on Bogislaus, while he lay at anchor at some distance from Rugen, not in the least dreaming of an enemy's approach, he defeated and dispersed his whole squadron, with a very inconsiderable loss. Shewing himself afterwards as able a commander by land as sea, he pushed his good fortune, attacked and made himself master of Wolgast, Wollin, and several other fortified places, which he gave up to be plundered by his troops†.

* Arnold. Krantz. Saxo Gram.

† Ibid.

THE reader will no doubt be curious with regard to this extraordinary man, who was so able a minister, admiral, and general; but he will be surprized to hear that he was a prelate, and, what is very singular in that rude and ignorant age, a prelate no less famed for his piety and learning, than for the above-mentioned accomplishments. This great man was born in Denmark, but in what province is not known. We are told that his grandfather was called Skialmohuid, or the White Horse. He entered early into orders, and his rare abilities procured him the bishopric of Roschild in 1157. In 1167, being desirous of awing the pirates that infested those seas, and of procuring a safe receptacle to the Danish vessels, he built the castle of Axlehuys in the isle of Zealand, afterwards called Stegelburg, which was the first rise of the celebrated port and city of Copenhagen. As he had given extraordinary proofs of his zeal for ecclesiastical discipline, Waldemar I. promoted him in 1178 from the see of Roschild to the archbishopric of Lunden; and in 1185 appointed him one of the guardians to his son Canute. He died at Sora in 1201, at the age of 73. We have thought proper to pay this tribute to the memory of the great Abfalom, who, though a fighting bishop, is recorded in history with the highest encomiums, as a faithful servant of the crown, the father of the poor, the scourge of vice and his country's foes, an encourager of learning *, a rewarder of merit; in short, one of the greatest men that ever adorned the annals of Denmark †.

History of
bishop Ab-
falom.

THIS same year died Canute, a prince of the royal family of the Venedi, son of Prisclavus, of whom frequent mention has been made in the preceding volume. After his father's death in 1170, he succeeded him as lord of Laland, an estate which had been conferred on that prince by king Waldemar. He

1183.

* He was the first that persuaded Saxo Grammaticus to undertake the Danish history, and countenanced and supported him during the time he was engaged in that elegant work; for which posterity is greatly indebted to this prelate. Saxo is said to have died a few years after his patron.

† Arnold. Lub. Saxo Gram. Pontan.

does not appear to have discovered any marks of genius, or even to have behaved with that courage and valour, for which his father is celebrated in the Danish annals. On the contrary, we meet with a passage in Saxo, which plainly shews him to have been of a degenerate spirit. In the Rugian war king Waldemar had honoured this prince with the command of a body of troops, whose destination was to watch the motions of the enemy. Canute declined the command, and told the king, that as he was possessed but of a small estate in Laland, it was not worth his while to expose his person for the defence of so trifling a property. Surprized at so insolent a speech, Waldemar replied, that he had conferred but small favours on him, because he did not think his conduct deserving of encouragement; nor did he see any likelihood that he should hereafter have occasion to behave with greater liberality. We find, however, from Saxo, that besides Laland, Canute held some lands in the isle of Fuhnen; for he takes notice that a few ships belonging to the Jutland fleet, arrived in 1170 at a town in Fuhnen, built by Canute the son of Prislavus*. The same historian affirms, that this prince died in 1183, and was buried in St. Canute's church at Odenfee.

1184.
Treaty between Denmark and Pomerania.

The princes of Mecklenburg obliged to pay homage to Denmark.

THE year following the king of Denmark marched a large army into Pomerania, and ravaged the whole province. Bogislaus lay in ambush for the Danes, in the neighbourhood of Camin; but a brisk skirmish ensuing, he was defeated, and had like to have been taken prisoner. Finding himself hard pressed, and his country exhausted, he applied to Absalom, to intercede with the king for a peace, which at length was granted. The conditions were severe; he was not only obliged to pay an extraordinary sum as an indemnity for the expences of the war, but to pay homage to Canute, and to hold Pomerania as a fief of Denmark. By the same treaty the two cousins, Burevinus and Niclotus, were released from their captivity, the former by Canute, and the latter by Bogislaus, under the same

* Huitfeldt takes this to be Nyburg in Fuhnen.

disagreeable condition of holding their dominions of the crown of Denmark. For the performance of this treaty they all gave hostages, and among the rest was a son of Burevinus. Niclotus recovered his territory of Rostock, and Burevinus retook possession of Ilowe and Mecklenburg. Thus the Danish kings became lords paramount, not only over the princes of Mecklenburg, but over those of Holstein, Pomerania, Prussia, and Livonia; and enjoyed that power till 1223, as will be seen in the sequel of this History. This was a most mortifying æra to those illustrious princes, and to their whole family: by their unhappy divisions the southern coast of the Baltic became dependent on a prince, whose father was said to have yielded homage himself to the empire*.

1184;

FREDERICK BARBAROSSA was not a little chagrined at the issue of this war; but the multiplicity of affairs which he had at that time upon his hands, prevented his giving any assistance to Bogislaus. After he had settled affairs in Italy, by the peace of Placentia in 1183, he assembled a diet at Mentz in 1184, where his eldest son Henry being again acknowledged king of the Romans, he knighted him and his brother prince Frederick; a circumstance the more remarkable, as he was the first emperor that conferred this honour on his sons, according to the rules and ceremonies of chivalry†.

Affairs of
Frederick
Barbarossa.

THE three years of Henry the Lion's exile being expired, this prince returned to Germany, and applied several times by letter to the emperor, complaining of the desolate condition in which he found his territories of Brunswick and Luneburg, and reminding him of the promise he had made to restore him after the expiration of three years, to the rest of his dominions. But his complaints were ineffectual, for the emperor continued to amuse him with a renewal of specious promises. Henry, in the times of his adversity, had many opportunities of trying his friends, and of distinguishing such as were sincerely attached to his interest, from those who were actuated

1185.
Henry the
Lion returns
to Germany.

* Arnold. Lub. Saxo Gram. Cranzius, Corner, Petersen, Goldast, Pontan.

† Scriptores rer. Germanic. Heisse, Barre.

merely by views of their own private emolument. Of the latter we have a remarkable instance in Hartwic, who had been a notary at the court of Brunswick in the days of the duke's prosperity, and whom this prince had preferred to a canonry in the cathedral of Bremen. Hearing that this man had been elected archbishop of that city, he sent a messenger to him, congratulating him upon his new dignity, and desiring the pleasure of an interview, the place and manner of which he left intirely to himself. The ungrateful priest declined the offer, and would not vouchsafe to see or to correspond with a prince, to whom he was indebted for all his dignity and grandeur*.

New disturbances in Italy.

1186.

1187.

1188.

IN the mean time, new disturbances arose in Italy between pope Urban III. and Frederick Barbarossa. The pope insisted on his reinstating Henry the Lion, and restoring the dominions of the countess Matilda, which were an eternal bone of contention between the empire and the church. He likewise endeavoured to foment a difference between Frederick and the prelates of Germany, who complained of his having violated some of their privileges. The emperor apprehending the consequence of a quarrel with the clergy, assembled a diet at Gelnhausen, where he found means to be reconciled to the ecclesiastical princes. Irritated at this behaviour of the prelates, the pope was upon the point of excommunicating the emperor, when death prevented him on the 19th of October 1187. Frederick was employed in making regulations for the establishment of peace and good order in Germany, when tidings arrived of the taking of Jerusalem by Saladin; an event which filled all Europe with consternation. The new pope Clement III. ordered a crusade to be preached throughout Christendom. The emperor summoned a diet at Mentz, where a great number of the princes of the empire entered into an engagement to take up the cross for the recovery of the Holy-land; and the emperor himself, at the age of sixty-eight, embarked in the expedition. By this step he was reconciled to the See of Rome.

* Arnold. Lub. Barre, Heisse, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum.

BERNARD, duke of Saxony, was one of the first who proposed to accompany the emperor in this expedition : but he soon after made objections, on pretence that Henry the Lion might take advantage of his absence to raise fresh disturbances in the empire. Frederick assembled another diet the same year at Goslar, with a view, as he pretended, of finally adjusting the disputes about Henry's dominions. Henry appeared ; but how great was his surprize, when, instead of the justice promised him, Frederick insisted either on his accompanying him to the Holy-land, or his returning to England, and residing there till the crusade was over, at which time he should be fully reinstated in all his dominions ! Henry chose the latter, after having bound himself by oath not to interrupt the peace of Germany, during the emperor's absence.

Frederick undertakes a crusade to the Holy-land.

Obliges Henry the Lion to return to England.

FREDERICK having summoned a diet at Ratibon, and committed the administration of the empire during his absence to his son Henry, king of the Romans, took the cross, and set out for Palestine. The army of the crusaders, consisting of one hundred and fifty thousand fighting men, assembled at Presburg, and from thence directing their march through Hungary, arrived at length in Asia. Their enterprize in the beginning met with some success : they subdued Cilicia, and penetrated into Armenia ; but the sudden loss of their general, Barbarossa, put a stop to their victories. This great prince, overcome with the sultry heat of a summer-day, ventured to bathe in the river Cydnus, where, unable to cope with the current, he unfortunately lost his life. His body was found, and interred in the city of Tyre. He was succeeded in the imperial dignity by his son Henry VI. surnamed the Severe ; and in the command of the crusading army by his son Frederick duke of Suabia : this prince died at the siege of Ptolemais of an infectious distemper, which proved fatal to the greatest part of his forces. The shattered remains of the army returned to Germany, except a few that stayed with Leopold duke of Austria. Such was the fatality that at-

Frederick settles the administration in his absence.

1188.

His death.

1190.

1188.
Affairs of
Henry the
Lion.

tended all those eastern expeditions, though headed by princes of the greatest intrepidity and conduct *!

AFTER the departure of Frederick Barbarossa for Palestine, his son Henry, king of the Romans, found it difficult to maintain his authority in the empire. Henry the Lion, in pursuance of his agreement, set out for England, but left his wife Matilda at Brunswick, where she died soon after, upon hearing of the decease of her royal father Henry II. Bernard, duke of Saxony, was to have attended the emperor to the Holy-land; but preferring interest to religion, he thought proper to remain in Germany, and to seize this opportunity of invading those provinces which continued subject to Henry's dominion. Incensed at this perfidious behaviour, Henry looked upon himself as released from the obligation of his oath: with the advice therefore of his brother-in-law Richard I. king of England, and of his son-in-law Canute, king of Denmark, he returned to Germany. Upon his landing in the county of Stade, he was kindly received by the archbishop of Bremen. He had just begun to fortify the town of Stade, when deputies arrived from the inhabitants of Holstein, who offered to subject themselves once more to his government: their example was soon followed by the counts of Ratzeburg and Schwerin, with several others of his vassals.

1189.

Henry has
recourse to
force for the
recovery of
his domi-
nions.

ENCOURAGED by these invitations, Henry resolved to have recourse again to arms, in hopes that fortune would at length second the justice of his cause. After he had fortified himself on the side of the Elbe, he entered Holstein with a body of troops, furnished by the archbishop and other noblemen, and laid siege to Bardewick, at that time a very large city in Lower Saxony. The inhabitants were summoned to surrender to their lawful sovereign; but instead of complying with this just demand, they had the insolence to shew their naked posteriors from the walls. So provoked was Henry at this indignity, that he vowed the destruction of that city. The siege was carried on with great vigour, and, at length, the place was taken by

* Arnold. Lub. Scriptores rer. Germ. Heisse, Barre.

assault,

assault, plundered, and burnt to the ground. The only vestiges of it now remaining are a castle, and a little village, situate on the river Ilmenow in the duchy of Luneburg, within a league of that city. The emperor having received advice of the duke's return, and of the hostilities committed in Lower Saxony, marched an army into the country of Brunswick, in order to stop Henry the Lion's progress: but miscarrying in his attempt upon Brunswick, he turned off to the duchy of Bremen; and after he had ravaged the whole country, he came up with the army under the command of Henry the Lion, in the neighbourhood of Verden. An engagement ensuing, he obtained a complete victory. Henry the Lion, humbled by this unfavourable turn of fortune, had recourse to the intercession of the archbishops of Mentz and Cologne. A diet was assembled at Fulda, where Henry appeared. The conditions the emperor granted him were, That the town of Brunswick should be dismantled, the citadel of Lawenburg razed to the ground, and Lubeck equally divided between Henry and Adolphus count of Holstein; that he should give his son Lotharius as an hostage; and that Henry his eldest son, attended by fifty knights, should accompany the emperor in his expedition to Italy. In consideration of his compliance, the emperor promised that all his dominions should be restored to him, without specifying the time. Henry finding it dangerous to retire without subscribing these articles, submitted at length, and sent his son Lotharius as an hostage to the emperor*.

Is opposed
by Henry
VI.

and obliged
to submit.

Two years had now elapsed since the conclusion of the late treaty, when Henry the Lion finding that the emperor, under various pretences, delayed to do him justice, seized upon Holstein, as part of his ancient inheritance. Scarce had he entered on this measure, when Adolphus of Schawenburg, count of Holstein, returned from his pilgrimage to Palestine, and hearing that duke Henry had possessed himself of Holstein, he had recourse to the emperor, in order to be reinstated in that pro-

1192.

Henry the
Lion seizes
Holstein.

* Arnold. Lub. Scriptores Germ. Scriptores rer. Brunsvic. Ger. Steerd. Barre.

vince. The emperor gave him great promises, but no assistance of troops, being employed himself in raising another army for the conquest of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily. Adolphus, therefore, despairing of succours from that quarter, and finding the duke possessed of the strong places on the banks of the Elbe, and that Henry Burevinus, the duke's son-in-law, lay in wait for him, should he attempt to pass through the territory of Mecklenburg, applied to Bernard duke of Saxony, and to Otho marquis of Brandenburg, whose interest it was to prevent Henry the Lion from raising his head. Assisted by those princes, and by his son-in-law the count de Dassel, he collected a considerable army, and marched into Holstein; where he defeated Henry's forces, and soon recovered possession of the whole country. He likewise made himself master of Stade and Lubeck, and received the investiture of those places from the emperor *.

1193.
Richard,
king of Eng-
land, impri-
soned in Ger-
many.

ABOUT this time duke Henry's brother-in-law Richard, king of England, was treacherously seized by the duke of Austria, and delivered into the hands of Henry VI. This prince promised at first to set him at liberty, but afterwards insisted upon his paying an exorbitant ransom †. Richard was obliged to submit to the hard conditions imposed on him, to pay a hundred thousand marks down, and to give hostages for the rest. Among the hostages were two of duke Henry's sons, Otho and William, who had remained in England; Otho was sent to the emperor, and William to the duke of Austria. King Richard having afterwards refused to pay the other fifty thousand marks, the emperor threatened to sacrifice Henry's son. This is said to have been the cause that prevented him from endeavouring to assert his right by force of arms; and which induced him to try whether there was any possibility of being reconciled to the emperor. Henry VI. having promised to favour him with an interview, the city of Salfeld in Thuringia was pitched upon for

Interview be-
tween Henry
VI. and
Henry the
Lion.

* Arnold. Lub. Scriptores rer. Germ. et Brunsvic. Heisse, Barre.

† The ransom is said to have been a hundred and fifty thousand marks of silver a prodigious sum in those days, and equivalent to two millions of German crowns.

this

this purpose: the old duke set out for that place; but happening to have a dangerous fall from his horse by the way, he was carried back to Brunswick. Upon account of Henry's indisposition, the emperor appointed Dullethe, a place much nearer to Brunswick, for the interview; where he met the duke without ceremony, and embraced him seemingly with great marks of tenderness. But this was all grimace; princes who have never experienced distress themselves, seldom relent at the sight of human woes, or feel their hearts softened by pity: all that the duke could obtain from the emperor, was specious promises to reinstate him in his dominions; promises which he soon forgot, and, indeed, never intended to perform. Soon after this interview the emperor returned to Italy, to take possession of the Two Sicilies, upon the death of Tancred; and died at Messina in 1197. Henry the Lion resigned his last breath two years before him, in the month of August, and in his sixty-sixth year. He had been indisposed ever since the interview at Dullethe; and the church of St. Blasius in Brunswick being struck with lightning, the apprehension lest the flames should communicate to the neighbouring palace in which he lay, is said to have hastened his dissolution, which happened in the year 1195.

1194.

Death of
Henry the
Lion.

1195.

His charac-
ter.

HENRY the Lion was comely in his person, of a robust constitution, and sprightly genius. He used himself to manly exercises, being an utter enemy to sloth and luxury; his carriage was open and chearful; yet there was a proper mixture of seriousness and gravity in his temper. He administered justice with great impartiality, whereby he struck a terror into offenders, and conciliated the affection of the innocent and virtuous, whom he took under his protection. He was generous, magnanimous, and humane. His courage and exploits were great, yet he was ever more desirous of meriting, than receiving applause. His fortune fell short of what he deserved, had he been possessed of the most extensive empire. Yet through an unaccountable concurrence of events, his life, especially towards the decline, was nothing but a concatenation of misfortunes and

and disappointments. It has been observed that the posterity of the emperor, who bore so implacable an enmity to this great prince, was soon extirpated from the face of the earth, by a catastrophe that excited horror in all that heard it. The last prince of the imperial family lost his head upon a scaffold at Naples; whereas Henry's posterity has flourished through a long succession of ages to the present time, and now with dignity and renown fills the throne of the British realms. He left three sons: Henry, surnamed the Long; Otho, who became emperor; and William, surnamed Long-Sword, who continued the family*. But it is time now to return to the affairs of Mecklenburg.

CHAP. V.

Henry Burevinus and Niclotus act as auxiliaries in the war between the marquis of Brandenburg and the prince of Pomerania. War betwixt Denmark and Adolphus count of Holstein. The battle of Warkowe, in which Niclotus is killed. Operations of the Danes and Holsteiners. Successes of Waldemar duke of Sleswick. Upon the death of his brother king Canute, he is declared king of the Danes, Venedi, and Nordalbingians. State of the empire. The princes of Mecklenburg and Pomerania are obliged to pay homage to Waldemar. Henry Burevinus resigns the government to his two sons.

1195.

ADVERSITY is the school of princes: the two cousins, Henry Burevinus and Niclotus, had profited by their misfortunes since the treaty with Denmark in 1187; so as to live ever after in perfect harmony, making it their constant study to cultivate the arts of peace, and to repair the injuries which their country had sustained from a series of war and devastation.

* Arnold. Lub. Scriptor. rer. Germ. Scriptor. rer. Brunsv. Radev. de rebus gest. Freder. I. Heisse, Barre.

But princes furrounded by potent and quarrelsome neighbours, have it not always in their power to live at peace, being often obliged to declare in favour of one of the contending parties. Such was the situation of the two princes of Mecklenburg this very year, in which Henry the Lion breathed his last. Otho, marquis of Brandenburg, a restless and enterprizing prince, laying claim to several castles and fortresses in Pomerania*, marched an army into that country, and seized those castles as his lawful property. Bogislaus, duke of Pomerania, was obliged to apply for assistance to Canute king of Denmark, who, since the above-mentioned treaty, looked upon the whole country of the Venedi as a fief dependent on his crown. Canute therefore determined to support the Pomeranians, and to recover those fortresses by force of arms. He was farther incited to embark in this quarrel, by his resentment against the marquis, who had assisted Waldemar, bishop of Sleswick, in a late attempt to usurp the regal authority. The king accordingly ordered a strong fleet to be fitted out, and conferred the command thereof on his chancellor Peter, bishop of Roschild†, and his brother Torbern. For it was now become a custom with the Danes to place bishops at the head of their armies, since Absalom's campaigns had been crowned with such success. The Danish fleet entered the river Oder, where the troops landed, and were joined by a body of Pomeranians and Mecklenburghers‡. It does not appear that either Burevinus or Niclotus commanded their troops in person, and it seems probable that they sent so small a number,

War between
Brandenburg
and Pomerania.

1195.

The princes
of Mecklen-
burg act as
auxiliaries.

* Crantzius assigns another cause of this war on the part of Otho, namely, the uneasiness it gave him that Denmark should gain such an ascendant in Germany, by means of the late dissension between Burevinus and Niclotus, who were become dependent on that crown; and that he considered this as an indignity and a loss to the empire; consequently his marching into Pomerania, according to this principle, was from a spirit of patriotism, and to rescue the country of the Venedi from a foreign yoke.

† This prelate was the son of Canute, slain by Swen at the public entertainment which he made for him and the late king Waldemar, at Roschild.

‡ We shall henceforward distinguish the subjects of the serene family, at least of the elder branch, by this appellation, as their princes themselves took their title from Mecklenburg.

not through any intention to favour the Danes, but to comply with their engagements. However that may have been, Canute took up his residence in the isle of Mona, to observe their operations, and to wait the event. The two armies soon met; and notwithstanding that the Danish general behaved with the greatest conduct and intrepidity, his forces were intirely routed, his brother was slain, and himself wounded and taken prisoner. The remainder of the Danish army fled with great precipitation to their ships, and set sail for Denmark*.

The bishop
of Roschild
taken pri-
soner.

THE bishop was kept two years a close prisoner, in consequence of which his health was considerably impaired. But pretending to be worse than he really was, he applied to the marquis for indulgence, that he might have leave to take the air, and that the severity of his confinement might be mitigated. The marquis, alarmed at the account of the prelate's illness, and fearing that if he happened to die during his captivity, he should not only lose the advantage of his enlargement, but likewise be charged with having contributed to the death of a bishop, ordered the keeper to grant him the indulgence he applied for. The keeper, whose name was Ludolfus, went beyond the marquis's order; for he indulged his prisoner so far as to suffer him to escape for a considerable sum of money, and accompanied him in his flight to Denmark. There are some who impute this escape to a connivance of the marquis, intimating that he was unwilling to be any longer at the expence of maintaining a captive of that quality. Be that as it may, the marquis, animated by his successes, concluded an alliance with Adolphus count of Holstein, to carry on the war against the Danes and their allies. Accordingly, these two princes having joined their forces, made incursions into the country of Mecklenburg and Pomerania: they proposed moreover to invade and lay waste the island of Rugen, had not a sudden thaw dissolved the ice, and put a stop to their design. Canute being highly incensed at these proceedings, took upon him the command of his army in person the ensuing spring, and marching

His escape.

196.

* Arnold. Lub. Cranzius.

into

into Holstein, laid Adolphus's territories under very heavy contribution. Adolphus, no way intimidated by so powerful an enemy, assembled his forces, consisting chiefly of auxiliaries, among whom were the marquis of Brandenburg, and Hartwic archbishop of Bremen. Canute was too advantageously encamped for the enemy to venture upon attacking him, so that the campaign was spent in observing each other; and winter approaching, the armies withdrew into their respective quarters. The count having exhausted himself to maintain such a number of troops, the greater part of them retired to their several countries, for want of subsistence. During the winter Adolphus set about fortifying the town of Rensburg, in order to stop the progress of the Danes the ensuing campaign. In the month of May the king took the field, and advanced with a numerous army to the river Eyder: the count not having forces sufficient to oppose him, was obliged to sue for peace, which was granted upon condition of his delivering up the fortress of Rensburg. Adolphus being under a necessity of acquiescing, the king of Denmark took possession of that important post, and built a spacious bridge over the Eyder, in order to have access to the country of Holstein*.

1197.

BUT this peace was of no long continuance. Adolphus, uneasy under the conditions imposed on him, had once more recourse to arms; and being joined by his nephew, the count de Dasse, he laid siege to Lawenburg. The inhabitants of this place having waited in vain for succours from Denmark, were at length obliged to surrender. From thence he turned his arms into Ditmarsh, and levied considerable contributions throughout the country. Canute being greatly irritated at this violation of the late peace, raised a formidable army, the command of which he conferred on his brother Waldemar, duke of Sleswick. With a view at the same time to make a powerful diversion, he engaged the princes of Mecklenburg, Burevinus and Nicholas, to march their forces into the territory of Adolphus count de Dasse, situated in the bishopric of Hildesheim.

1200.
War betwixt
Denmark and
Holstein.

Burevinus
and Nicholas
attack the
count de
Dasse.

* Ibid.

Battle of
Warzkowe.

Prince Ni-
cholas is
slain.

Burevinus being brother-in-law to the heirs of Henry the Lion, obtained a free passage through the country of Brunswick and Luneburg. The count flew to cover his dominions, and both armies meeting at a place called Warzkowe, there ensued a bloody engagement. Nicholas began the attack with the greatest intrepidity, but was unfortunately killed at the very first onset. The news of his death being spread throughout the army, increased the ardour of his men, impatient to revenge the loss of their much lamented sovereign and commander. The enemy, unable to stand so violent a shock, began to give way on every side, and at length quitted the field of battle: multitudes of them were killed and wounded, a greater number were made prisoners, and the count de Dasle himself narrowly escaped being taken in the pursuit. Thus did Burevinus obtain a complete victory, with a very inconsiderable loss, if we except that of his cousin Nicholas. The untimely fate of this prince, the son of the celebrated Wertislaus, was greatly deplored by all his subjects, who revered him for his wisdom, admired him for his courage, and loved him for his goodness and humanity *.

His charac-
ter.

AMONG other instances of his generosity, and indeed of his piety, according to the religion of the times, we may mention his donations to the convent of Dobberan, for which he had a particular regard. This appears by the first Diploma Dobberanense †, where he expresses himself thus: “ I Nicholas, prince of the Slavi, have taken the monks of Dobberan under my care and protection; and, in consequence thereof, I grant them the estate called Wilsne, with the same rights and privileges as were annexed to the donations which my uncle Pribislaus made to those fathers. Witness Henry Burew, prince of Mecklenburg. Given at Rostock, the sixth of the ides of April 1190. Indict. VIII. in the pontificate of pope Clement, and in the reign of the emperor Frederick.”

* Arnold. Lub. Crantz. Goldast. Memor. Holfat. Hamsfort, rer. Holfat. Bacmeister Antiq. Rostock. Petersen Holst. Chron. Corner, Buckholtz, Gebhardi.

† Apud Westphal. tom. 3. pag. 467.

In another diploma he glories, that ever since he took the reins of government over the Slavi into his hands, he had laboured hard, together with his cousin Burevinus, for the good of the Dobberanenfians. But his generosity was not confined to the clergy, he likewise repaired the town of Rostock, which had greatly suffered from the Danish troops under king Waldemar. His body was carried to Dobberan, and honourably interred in that church the 26th of May 1200. In the seal to a diploma, dated 1190, he is represented on horseback, holding a sword in his right hand. They who pretend that he married Anne, daughter of Albert II. marquis of Brandenburg, ought to consider how they will be able to solve the chronological difficulty to which that opinion is liable. By prince Nicholas's decease without issue, the territory of Rostock, and the whole dominions of Mecklenburg, fell to Henry Burevinus*.

WHILE this prince was thus employed in the bishopric of Hildesheim, Waldemar, prince of Denmark, put himself at the head of the army, and marched into the territory of the count of Holstein. The count met him at a place called Stili-nowe, where the two armies came to an engagement; and, after an obstinate contest, Waldemar obtained a complete victory. Adolphus with great difficulty escaped to Hamburg, and from thence to Lawenburg. Waldemar pursuing the blow, made himself master of Itzehoe, Sigeberg, Travemunde, and Ploen: from thence he marched to Hamburg, which opened her gates to him, and the example was followed by Ratzeburg, Witteburg, and Gadebusch. From Hamburg he advanced to Lubeck in the month of October; and the inhabitants were struck with such terror, especially as numbers of their men and ships were then detained in Schonen by the king of Denmark, that they thought it most advisable also to surrender. Thus the victorious Waldemar annexed a considerable part of Germany to the dominions of Denmark, without meeting with the least check during the whole course of this glorious campaign †.

1200.
Successes of
Waldemar
prince of
Denmark.

* M. Gebhardi.

† Arnold. Lub. Cranz. Pontan.

The count of
Holstein ta-
ken prisoner.

THE prince of Denmark having thrown strong garrisons into the fortified towns, and taken hostages for the performance of their engagements, returned triumphant to the duchy of Sleswick. But scarce had he put his troops into winter quarters, when count Adolphus found means to possess himself of Hamburg towards the latter end of the month of November. Waldemar, upon receiving intelligence of this motion, immediately passed the Elbe, and being joined by Henry Burevinus and the count of Schwerin, he invested that city with a considerable army. Adolphus was surprized and vexed at this sudden march, especially as the town was unprepared for a long defence. But this indeed was owing to his own imprudence; for imagining that the Danes would be employed in feasting and carousing towards the approach of Christmas, he had neglected to make the necessary preparations for a siege. The enemy carried on their operations with the utmost vigour, till at length the want of provisions obliged the inhabitants to surrender. This produced a conference between Waldemar and Adolphus; and a capitulation was signed, containing among other articles, that not only the town of Hamburg, but likewise the fortrefs of Lawenburg, a place of considerable strength, should be delivered up to the crown of Denmark. And for the performance of this last article, Adolphus was to be detained as hostage. At the time of this capitulation there happened a very extraordinary instance of military resentment. The Ditmarshians, who served in Waldemar's army, hearing that Adolphus was in their camp, fell upon him with the utmost fury, in order to revenge the devastations he had committed in their country. And had it not been for the timely interposition of Waldemar, he would have been certainly cut in pieces; a warning to all generals, to avoid transgressing the known laws of war, and the bounds of humanity. The Danish commander decamped from thence, and proceeded to Lawenburg, with Adolphus in his train, expecting to become master of that fortrefs according to the capitulation. Adolphus spared no pains to prevail on the inhabitants to submit to the Danish king, as a necessary condition

tion of his liberty; he used arguments, intreaties, and menaces, but all to no purpose; the Lawenburghers resolved not to make themselves slaves in order to set their sovereign at liberty. This is a very extraordinary instance, few cities or nations having ever refused to comply with the demands of their captive sovereign. But whether it be that they considered him as acting under compulsion, and therefore not declaring his will in a legal manner, they said they lamented his case, and would do every thing in their power to rescue him out of the hands of his enemies, except admitting a Danish garrison. In consequence of this refusal, the count met with the most ungenerous treatment from his enemies; he was put in chains, and dragged ignominiously through most of the towns in Denmark, where the inhabitants diverted themselves with gazing at this illustrious captive, as if he had been designed for a public spectacle. At length he was committed to the fortress of Seburg, where bishop Waldemar was kept in close confinement*.

WALDEMAR having extended the Danish empire by the conquest of Nordalbingia, now included under the general name of Holstein, thought proper to strengthen the royal family by espousing Ingeburga, sister to Otho duke of Brunswick, a son of Henry the Lion. The nuptials were celebrated at Hamburg, where the king graced them with his royal presence. This same year Canute paid a visit to Lubeck, the inhabitants of which city gave him a magnificent reception. Waldemar having been long possessed of the government of Sleswick, the king was willing to increase his brother's power and estate, by annexing the late conquests to that duchy. As soon as this was settled, Canute returned to Denmark, and Waldemar resolved to make another attempt upon Lawenburg. But all the efforts he made against that town proving ineffectual, he proceeded from thence to Sigeberg, in order to forward the siege of that place, which had been carried on for some time by one of his officers. The garrison made a vigorous defence, but provisions beginning to fail, they were at last obliged to

1202.
Farther progress of the
Danish arms.

* Ibid.

capitulate. They had however taken care to conceal this distress from the besiegers, by making a prodigious noise with their tools in cutting and preparing a number of mill stones, whereby the duke was induced to believe they had plenty of corn. This stratagem procured them an honourable capitulation; in consequence of which all their immunities and privileges were confirmed. The Danish general was preparing to return to Sleswick, when he received the melancholy intelligence of the death of his brother king Canute, which happened in the month of December 1202. Waldemar succeeded him without opposition, and was received in Denmark with universal joy and satisfaction. After he had settled the government, and passed some salutary laws, he set out for Lubeck, where he made his public entry with great acclamations, and was proclaimed king of the Danes, Venedi, and Nordalbingians, by the name of Waldemar II. Having been joined by all the neighbouring princes, and, among the rest, by Henry Burevinus, he marched with a formidable army, and again laid siege to Lawenburg. Though the town was well supplied with the ammunitions and provisions requisite for making a long defence, the garrison offered to surrender on the condition formerly proposed, of setting count Adolphus at liberty. The condition was granted; and Adolphus, after renouncing all claim to Holstein, and giving hostages for his behaviour, was at length released from his captivity. The town was surrendered to king Waldemar, and the count retired to Schawenburg*.

Troubles of
the empire.
1197.

THE empire at that time was unable to stem the torrent of the Danish arms. Upon the decease of Henry VI. in 1197, his brother Philip, duke of Suabia, took upon him the administration, during the minority of Henry's son Frederick, king of the Romans. The pope, being a declared enemy of the house of Suabia, opposed Philip with all his might, and raised a party which elected Otho, the younger son of Henry the Lion, king of the Romans. Frederick's election was confirmed by another party; but as he was only four years of age, his uncle Philip

* Arnold. Lub. Crantz. Harnesfort, Peterfen.

was elected king of the Romans, and crowned at Mentz in 1198. This gave rise to a civil war, and Germany became a field of blood. But as Philip was preparing to attack Otho with a considerable force, he was assassinated at Bamberg by Otho of Wittelsbach, a cousin to the duke of Bavaria. Upon the death of Philip, the election in Otho's favour was renewed, and he was crowned at Rome in 1209, by Innocent III. But no sooner was he invested with the imperial dignity, than he quarrelled with the pope about the rights of his crown; and this dispute being worked up into a war, he was excommunicated, and dethroned by the diet of Bamberg. Whereupon Frederick II. son of Henry VI. was raised to the imperial throne.

1198.

1208.

1209.

1211.

GERMANY being thus rent by intestine divisions, the Danes had an opportunity of extending their conquests along the Baltic, and towards the banks of the Elbe. Waldemar, their warlike king, took particular care, after the surrender of Lawenburg, to improve his new conquests, and to fortify the frontier towns. He demolished Wittenburg, and enlarged the city of Hamburg, in the neighbourhood of which he built a handsome bridge over the Elbe. But Lubeck about this time had the misfortune of being burnt down; if it can be called a misfortune, which was the cause of its rising with greater beauty out of its ashes *. This same year Henry Burevinus the elder, sent his son Henry Burevinus II. and his grandson prince John, to Worms, in order to assist at a grand tournament which was held in that city. After the diversions were over, prince John, then only thirteen years old, proceeded to Paris, where he applied himself very closely to the study of divinity for twenty years, and thereby acquired the surname of Theologian. The king of Denmark, intending to bring the princes of Pomerania under the same dependence as those of Mecklenburg, founded

Waldemar improves his new conquests.

1211.

* The above fire was described at the time by the following monkish verses.

Anno milleno ducenteno quoque nono,
In Viti festo, Lubek perit igne molesto,
Quinque tamen ædes remanserunt ibi stantes.

Stralsund, opposite the isle of Rugen. This city stands on a strait of the sea, called the Gellen, betwixt the continent of Pomerania and the above-mentioned island. It derives its name from the narrow strait, called Sunde, which lies between it and the isle of Danholm, anciently named Strela *. Its situation renders it naturally very strong, being surrounded by the sea, and accessible only by bridges. Soon after this event, Waldemar undertook an expedition into Pomerania, where he rebuilt the citadel of Demin, and made himself master of Stetin, with several other towns and fortified places. He likewise obliged the count of Schwerin to pay hostage to the crown of Denmark. After all these successes, he sent ambassadors to the emperor Frederick II. to desire he would grant him the investiture of his new conquests in Germany. This is a submission, which his father never would condescend to make to that emperor's grandfather Barbarossa; but Waldemar was willing to avoid all disputes about his rights, so that they were confirmed by a formal instrument, and his ambassadors dismissed with honour †.

1217.
Burevinus
attends Wal-
demar to
Livonia.

THIS year king Waldemar undertook an expedition to Livonia, against the Russians, in which he was attended by Henry Burevinus. The Chronicle of Livonia, published by Gruberus, is very particular in setting forth the exploits by which Henry Burevinus signalized himself in this expedition. The result was, that the Russians and their allies were intirely defeated. Gruberus in a note to that passage affirms, that Burevinus the elder performed those exploits. But it is very improbable that a prince, who was upwards of seventy years of age, should be able to undertake so laborious an expedition, and to sustain such a variety of hardships. It is therefore more likely, that these encomiums belong to the son of the same name. In the domestic monuments of 1217, we find neither of those princes mentioned; but they both make their appearance in the fifth diploma of Dobberan in 1218. "I Burevin, prince of Meck-

Domestic
monuments
of Burevinus.

* Some will have it, that this city was founded by Jaromar, prince of Rugen.

† Pontan, Huitfeld, Meursius, Cranzius, Bartholinus.

“lenburg and Kiffin—but the names of the lands and posses-
 “sions, which include the charitable donations made to those
 “fathers by us, and with the consent of my sons, Henry and
 “Nicholas.—Given at Poel, in the year of our Lord 1218, the
 “sixth indiction of pope Honorius, and in the reign of Wal-
 “demar king of Denmark.” He dates this instrument from
 Poel, an island situated over-against Wismar; and it is to be
 observed, that he obtained this island in fee (in beneficium)
 of the bishop of Schwerin in 1210, pursuant to the fourth dip-
 loma of Dobberan. Kirchberg takes notice, that this prince
 restored the castle of Werle, and founded Wismar; we shall
 not dispute either, having said enough already in regard to
 Wismar; and shall only remark by the way, that the emperor
 Otho mentions the port of Wismar in 1211, in a charter pre-
 served by Westphal. This however is certain, that he greatly
 improved and embellished the city of Rostock; and he claims
 that honour himself in the twenty-seventh diploma of Dobbe-
 ran, by which he grants the laws of Lubeck (Jus Lubicense)
 to the citizens of Rostock in 1218*.

HENRY being now advanced in years, and fatigued with the
 cares of government, resigned his dominions to his two sons,
 reserving to himself the eminens dominium †, or transcenden-
 tal property, which indeed was only making them his colleagues

1219.
 Henry Bure-
 vinus resigns
 the govern-
 ment to his
 sons.

* Gebhardi Origines Mecklenburgicæ, Westphal, Beehr, Kluver.

† This appears by the foundation of the monastery of Sonnen Camp, or Neuen
 Closter, this very year, not far from Bukow in the duchy of Mecklenburg We
 shall give the instrument of the donation the more readily, as it mentions another
 wife of this prince, with whose family we are intirely unacquainted. “I Henry
 “Burevinus, by the grace of God prince of the Slavi, with my sons, Henry and
 “Nicholas, and with the consent of my wife Adelaid, have built a nunnery of the
 “order of St. Benedict, to the support of which we have granted out of our patrimony
 “the village of Cuschin, where the place now called Campus Solis was founded.
 “Dated in the year of our Lord 1219, in the reign of Frederick, king of the Romans.”

The liberality of the father is further declared by the sons themselves, in the sixth
 Diploma Dobberanense, in the following manner: “Henry of Rostock, and Ni-
 “cholas of Mecklenburg, brothers, Whereas Pribislaus our grandfather, and prince
 “of Mecklenburg, founded the convent of Dobberan; lord Henry Burevinus, our
 “honoured father, imitating his father’s piety, endowed the same with privileges;
 “and moreover our beloved cousin, prince of Rostock, contributed his share to the

Grants great
privileges to
his subjects.

or associates. This prince ever since he had the misfortune of becoming a vassal to the crown of Denmark, had seldom interfered in any foreign transaction, in which the interest of that crown was not immediately concerned. As for instance in 1208, in the election of the bishop of Bremen, where he concurred with the king of Denmark in raising bishop Waldemar to that see. This subjection made him less attentive to foreign affairs, and left him at liberty to apply his mind intirely to the welfare and happiness of his people. Thus the lands that had been left desolate, he filled with inhabitants; the towns that had been destroyed, he raised from their ashes, and embellished with good edifices. But his generosity in granting such a number of privileges to different towns in his dominions, at the same time that it drew a concourse of foreigners, endeared him to his subjects, and justly procured him the honourable title of father of his people. To Rostock, as we have already observed, he granted the Jus Lubicense, or Laws of Lubeck *, which were the first foundation of the prosperity of that city. The town of Parchim he built intirely new in 1210, or thereabouts (the old town having been destroyed in the late calamities); and in 1218 he favoured it with the laws and privileges of Schwerin. It appears, likewise, that the city of Gustrow was indebted to him for the same charter in 1222, though the fragment thereof in Westphal. vol. 1. mentions the name of Henry Burevinus II. For it is highly probable, as we have already

“ same religious design---We having succeeded our progenitors.---Given at Rostock,
“ on the kalends of August, in the year of our Lord 1219. Indict. VII. in the reign
“ of Waldemar, king of Denmark.” By the different forms of regnante Frederico, and regnante Waldemaro, it is plain that Mecklenburg acknowledged the jurisdiction of the empire, and Rostock that of the king of Denmark.

* In regard to the granting of the Laws of Lubeck to the town of Rostock, it is to be observed, that this code of laws was not intire, when first granted by Henry the Lion to the city of Lubeck, but was completed afterwards by the emperor Frederick II. Hence it is that the city of Rostock could receive no more of the laws of Lubeck from Henry Burevinus, than was at that time in use. This remark is of consequence, on account of the subsequent disputes between the dukes of Mecklenburg, and the inhabitants of Rostock.

observed,

observed, that the latter was only associated in the government *. His favours were not confined to the laity, but extended also to the clergy, on whom he conferred several marks of his liberality. Particularly the convent of Dobberan felt the effects of his bounty, being declared a free independent place, and released from all feudal subjection. In short, this was the age of religious foundations; and in proportion as princes extended their liberality to monks, they thought themselves sure of expiating their sins, and procuring an easy admittance to heaven †.

C H A P. VI.

Henry Burevinus II. succeeds his father, in conjunction with his brother Nicholas. Death of Nicholas. Affairs of Denmark: king Waldemar surprized and taken prisoner by the count of Schwerin. Alliance against Denmark. The princes of Mecklenburg shake off the Danish yoke. King Waldemar is set at liberty. The battle of Bornhovede. Freedom of the Danish provinces in Germany. Death of Henry Burevinus II.

III. HENRY BUREVINUS II.

The third PRINCE of MECKLENBURG.

From 1219 to 1236.

EMPEROR of GERMANY,
FREDERICK II. 1212.

KING of ENGLAND,
HENRY III. 1216.

HENRY BUREVINUS the elder, upon resigning the reins of government to his two sons, Henry and Nicholas, or upon associating them in the regency, went to reside

1219.
Religious
foundations
made by the
princes of
Mecklen-
burg.

* Concerning those laws of Lubeck and Schwerin, see Westphal. preface to his first tom. Septem fragmenta Juris Suerini, and Codicill. Jurium Megapol. See also the laws of Schwerin in the Appendix to the first volume of this work.

† Arnold. Lub. Saxo, Crantz. Corner, Kirchberg, Petersen, Holst. Chron. Bacmeister, Beehr.

at Bukow in the duchy of Mecklenburg, where, in the year 1224, he suppressed the abuse of Jus Naufragii, by a gracious rescript*. The Jus Naufragii was a right which princes claimed to stranded vessels, or to the effects of shipwrecked persons. A claim so shocking to humanity †, one would imagine to have had its origin in the times of darkest ignorance, and grossest barbarity. But, to the surprize of this enlightened age, it took rise among the civilized, the learned Romans, and constitutes an article in their celebrated body of laws ‡.

THE two princes his sons lived in the greatest harmony and friendship, assisted by the advice and experience of their aged father, who, by his instructive precepts, had initiated them in all the various arts of government and policy. The eldest, named Henry Burevinus II. married the princess Sophia, daughter of Charles king of Sweden, by whom he had four sons, John, Nicholas, Henry Burevin III. and Pribislaus. Nicholas, the younger brother of Burevinus II. was not married. The whole family seem to have had a particular turn to religion, as appears by their zeal in building monasteries and churches. Among other foundations of this kind, the old prince, as we have already taken notice, had established a monastery of women near Westkenbrugge; but disliking the barrenness of the spot, he removed it afterwards to a place called from thence the Neuen Closter or the New Abbey. He also founded in 1222 the famous abbey of Dobbertin, in favour of the monks of the Benedictine order. His son Burevinus II. followed his example, in extending his munificence and liberality to the clergy. The same prince built the great church of Gustrow in 1226, with extraordinary magnificence, and endowed it with a considerable revenue. It was dedicated to St. Cecilia, and he intended to make it vie with the rich cathedral of Hildesheim. In the

* Apud Westphal. tom. iv. pag. 914.

† By the law of nature it is injustice to deprive any man of his property, who has committed no crime. God forbid, says Dio Prusensis, that we should expect to reap any advantage from the misfortunes of our fellow-creatures. Orat. 7. de naufr.

‡ Auth. naufragia C. de furtis, where "bona naufragorum fisco addicuntur."

records * belonging to this church, it appears that the old prince Burevinus I. gave his consent to this foundation; which seems to confirm the opinion, that the sons were only associated in the government †.

THESE were the chief employments of those princes, at a time when their country groaned under a foreign yoke. Religion diverted their thoughts, or soothed their sorrows, the present circumstances affording no other relief. It was not a proper season to have recourse to arms against so potent a prince as Waldemar II. who, besides the kingdom of Denmark, possessed the whole southern coast of the Baltic, from Hamburg to Dantzick, and from thence to Revel; who had lately undertaken an expedition to Livonia, and defeated the Muscovites and other allies; who, in short, is said to have had fourteen hundred ships of all sizes, with a standing army of a hundred and sixty-nine thousand men, besides garrisons in the tributary provinces. Such was the wealth and power of that great monarch, that he seemed to threaten chains to all Germany, as well as to the princes of Mecklenburg, when a cause which has been productive of the most important revolutions recorded in history, put an end to the usurpation of the Danes, and established the liberties of the several states on the southern coasts of the Baltic. ‡.

HENRY GUNCELINUS II. count of Schwerin, son of the first count of that name, a vassal of Waldemar II. having a great opinion of the virtue and integrity of that monarch, thought proper to entrust him with the care and protection of his wife and children, as well as of his dominions, during his absence on a pilgrimage to the Holy-land. By so unbounded a confidence, Henry imagined he might safely depend on the honour of the Danish monarch; but those who implicitly rely on the fidelity of their friends in a trust so delicate, are too often betrayed; and however antiquity may boast of instances of dis-

Power of
Denmark.

1218.

The count of
Schwerin
goes on a
pilgrimage
to Palestine.
Leaves his
wife and
children un-
der the pro-
tection of
king Wal-
demar.

* Apud Westphal. tom. i.

† Cranzius, Kirchberg, Corner, Beehr, Kluver, Gebhardi.

‡ Crantz. Huitfeld, Pontan.

interested

Waldemar
debauches
the countess.

interested friendship, superior to every impulse of inordinate passion, such examples occur but rarely in modern times. Henry had not been long departed, when Waldemar seized the town and county of Schwerin, under pretence that the dower due with Ida, sister of count Henry, who had been married to Nicholas, count of Halland, the king's natural son, had never been paid. And though the countess Ida was deceased, yet the king claimed the fortune in the name of a young son, whom she left behind her, and who was also named Nicholas. Margaret, countess of Schwerin (surnamed Von-Schlaven, or Slavina, from her parentage) was a lady of exquisite beauty, and the most engaging accomplishments. She thought proper to wait upon the king, to beg he would suspend his proceedings till the return of her husband. The king was a widower, and of an amorous disposition; it should not therefore seem surprizing, that the charms of a beautiful countess made an impression upon his heart, insomuch, that yielding to passion, when he could not prevail by persuasion, he had recourse to violence for the gratification of his desires. The countess concealed her shame till the return of her husband in 1222, and then she divulged the whole secret. Henry, incensed at the perfidious behaviour of the king, vowed revenge, but took care to disguise his sentiments, till he might have an opportunity of carrying his purpose into execution. In 1223 he waited on the king of Denmark, whom he found engaged in the diversions of the chase in the little isle of Liow, near that of Fuhnen. Having paid his respects to Waldemar, he pretended ignorance of the affront done to his honour, and thanked his majesty for the great care he had taken of his wife and children. At the same time he made him a present of several rarities from the Levant. It seems somewhat surprizing, that a person of the count's openness of temper, could have put such a constraint upon himself, as to dissemble so effectually: but as men are generally ready to believe what they desire to be true, it is probable that the king met him half way in the deception,

ception, and shewed as much credulity in giving into the artifice of the count, as the latter had done in trusting him; or, perhaps, he was backward to suspect, that a man so uncautious could be capable of dissimulation and art. So taking it for granted, that the countess had concealed what had passed between them, he desired Henry to partake of the pleasures of the chase. But as they came to pitch their tent at a village bordering on the sea-shore, Henry took an opportunity to order his vessel, which had been prepared for that purpose, to approach, and that same evening he took his leave of the king. Waldemar was so pleased with what had happened, that he insisted on the count's staying to supper, where he, and all his retinue, drank most plentifully; and then bidding good night to the count, he retired to his rest. In the dead of the night, on the twenty-third of May 1223, Henry and his men came on shore, and surprized Waldemar and his attendants in their sleep, bound the king in his tent, and carried him and his son prisoners on board their vessel. At the same time they destroyed the king's yatches, to prevent a pursuit. Then hoisting sail, they steered directly for Germany, where they landed the captive monarch and his son, and carried them first to the castle of Dallenberg*, and from thence to that of Schwerin. Thus was a most powerful monarch, by yielding himself a captive to love, deprived of his sovereign sway, and reduced to a state of real captivity; a striking lesson to princes, not to listen too easily to the suggestions of a passion, which has often been productive of the most fatal consequences, the expulsion of royal families, the horrors of civil war, and the subversion of empires†.

The count
takes the
king prisoner
by a strata-
gem.

* Crantzius calls this castle by the name of Danneberg, and this would have been a likely place enough, had it belonged at that time to the counts of Schwerin; but there were counts of Danneberg long before count Henry was born. It is most probable, that Henry secured the king in the first place of safety he could reach, and the castle of Dallenberg seems to have been more convenient for that purpose, than that of Danneberg. Dallenberg is now a ruinous castle in the county of Schwerin.

† Huitfeld in vita Wald. Peterfen, Holst. Chron. Crantz. Hamsfort, Pontan, Cypræus, Hubner, Buckholtz.

1223.
Consequences of Waldemar's captivity.

THE news of this exploit was immediately diffused over all Denmark, where it occasioned the utmost consternation and surprize. The Danes, who had a great affection for their sovereign, were in a distracted condition, being afraid to have recourse to arms, lest the count's resentment should prompt him to some violence. The highest ransoms were offered for his liberty, but all to no purpose. At length the whole body of the Danish nation addressed themselves to the emperor and the pope, in behalf of their captive sovereign. Frederick II. whatever sentiments he might outwardly profess, must have been pleased with this adventure, as it afforded him an opportunity of stripping the Danish monarch of his German conquests. Waldemar was therefore now considered as the emperor's prisoner, who pretended to have a right of detaining him for usurping a jurisdiction over vassals of the empire. The pope wrote strongly in favour of Waldemar to the count of Schwerin, and to several other German princes, exhorting, or rather commanding, them to set the king at liberty. A diet was therefore held at Nordhausen, where the states of the empire agreed, that Waldemar should be released from his confinement, on condition of relinquishing his late conquests, and doing homage to the emperor for the kingdom of Denmark. But the king would listen to no such terms; he despised life, when it could be no longer of service to his country; besides, his subjects, he said, would have reason to regret the recovery of his liberty, should it be purchased with the sacrifice of such valuable conquests, and the honour of the Danish nation. The most shining periods of antiquity, do not furnish a more illustrious example of a monarch's preferring the good of his country to his own: Waldemar's declining to accept of liberty upon terms disadvantageous to his subjects, may be compared to the heroism of Codrus, who devoted himself to death, in order to secure conquest to the Athenians.

The German princes shake off the Danish yoke.

DURING these negotiations, the princes of the several territories and provinces, which Waldemar had rendered tributary to Denmark, embraced the opportunity of recovering their liberties,

berties, before they would release him from his captivity. The princes of Mecklenburg, Burevinus and Nicholas, entered into the general alliance, and all with one voice determined to assert their ancient independence. These two princes joined their forces in 1225 to those of Adolphus, count of Schaumburg, and assisted that prince in making himself master of Holstein. But these hostilities did not pass without opposition from Albert, earl of Orlemund, Waldemar's lieutenant in those quarters: the earl collected the whole force of that province, and marched to meet the confederates; but fortune proving unfavourable to him in battle, he was obliged to fly, and the allies recovered possession of the whole country. The Danish general was pursued, taken prisoner, and sent to keep company with his master in the castle of Schwerin*.

1225.

THIS unhappy prince had languished in confinement now three years, when he was prevailed on by the united representations of his children and his people, to consent to the enemy's terms. These were very severe; but the distressed situation of

Waldemar
recovers his
liberty by
treaty.

* The confinement of this monarch is supposed to have given rise to a very extraordinary ceremony, called the Martinsmann, which is still practised in the town of Schwerin. The city of Lubeck having received many injuries from king Waldemar, made application to the count of Schwerin, in hopes that, as he had the Danish monarch in his power, he would oblige that prince to grant them satisfaction. The opportunity being favourable, satisfaction was obtained, and the Lubeckers, out of gratitude, bound themselves to make the count of Schwerin a yearly present of wine. The ceremony is always performed on the eve of St. Martin, when the magistrates of Lubeck send a hoghead of wine to the ducal residence at Schwerin: the officer charged with the liquor, drives in full speed into the court-yard, and delivers the wine with these words: "The city of Lubeck sends this present of wine to his serene highness, out of neighbourly regard and friendship." Upon which one of the officers of the duke's household makes answer, "Not out of neighbourly regard and friendship, but from strict obligation." The officer then makes a protest, and has it registered by a notary, whom he brings with him for that purpose from Lubeck. The waggon and horses are afterwards inspected by a farrier, and if any thing is amiss, even to a nail, the whole is confiscated. The ceremony is at length concluded with entertaining the officer at the duke's expence. Kluver.

There are others who think that this yearly custom of sending messengers to Schwerin, arose from the famous battle of Bornhovede in 1227, the city of Lubeck intending thereby to express her thanks to the counts of Schwerin, for the liberty obtained by means of their assistance.

1226.

his country, agitated by the most violent storms of ambition and discord, for want of a proper pilot to guide the helm, overcame the noble obstinacy of this great monarch. A treaty was set on foot at Bardowick, by the mediation of the pope; and Waldemar and his son, of the same name, were at length restored to their liberty, upon the following conditions. 1. That he should pay forty-five thousand marks of silver for his ransom. 2. That he should relinquish his right and pretensions to the sovereignty of Holstein, Schwerin, Hamburg, Mecklenburg, and of all the other provinces and towns on this side the Baltic and the Eider, which he had wrested from the empire. 3. And lastly, that he should make oath to abide by this treaty, and never to attempt taking any revenge of Henry, count de Schwerin, or any of the princes who had joined in the late confederacy. In virtue of this treaty, which put an end to the Danish power in Germany, and was signed on the twenty-fifth of March 1226, the king recovered his liberty, though greatly dissatisfied to part with conquests which had been purchased with the blood and treasure of his people *.

Lubeck recovers its liberty.

THIS very year the inhabitants of Lubeck, animated with that noble spirit of liberty which had seized the neighbouring states, entered into a private negotiation with the emperor Frederick II. to shake off the Danish yoke. Frederick, who repined to see that town dismembered from the imperial dominions, approved of their design, which tended to increase his own authority. The Lubeckers concerted their measures so dexterously, that the Danish garrison were made prisoners, and the standard of liberty was erected on the usual day of chusing their new magistrates. To support their independency, they joined in the confederacy with Albert of Saxony, and the princes of Mecklenburg and Pomerania, who, at the instance of the emperor, had taken this city under their protection. Waldemar was fired with resentment at this transaction; and though he might have considered it as a fresh provocation since the late treaty, and therefore had a

* Crantzius, Pontan, Hubner.

right perhaps to punish the offenders without any violation of his oath, he applied nevertheless to the pope, who released him from an engagement which he had contracted by compulsion, during his late captivity. Whether the circumstance of compulsion was a just cause for setting aside that engagement, I will not pretend to decide; certain it is, the Danish king thought himself justified, according to the religion of that time, in raising a powerful army, in order to chastise the revolted.

WALDEMAR having assembled all his forces, and being joined by his only ally Otho of Brunswick, nephew of Henry the Lion, penetrated into Holstein, where he possessed himself of Itzehoe, and other places, which he abandoned to the fury of his soldiers. In the mean time the confederate princes were not unactive, but gave the command of their army to count Adolphus of Schaumburg, (the same who had been taken prisoner by king Waldemar) who had under him Gerard, archbishop of Bremen, the bishop of Lubeck, (for there were hardly any battles in those days without some of the church militant) Albert duke of Saxony, Bernard his son, Henry count of Schwerin, Henry Burevinus * prince of Mecklenburg, with his brother Nicholas, and several other princes. At length the two armies came up with each other at a place called Bornhovede, in the duchy of Holstein, and an engagement followed, in which the combatants displayed the utmost bravery. Both parties being extremely exasperated, the Danes against those whom they considered as rebels, and the confederates against the invaders of their liberties; the event was long in suspense, till Waldemar had the misfortune of being wounded in the eye, which obliged him to quit the field. Discouraged by this accident, and by the desertion of the Ditmarsians, as well as by the reflection of the sun, which dazzled their eyes, the Danish troops at length gave way, when the Lubeckers coming on with a fresh reinforcement of men, a total rout ensued, in which the greatest part of the Danish troops were destroyed, and most of their

1227.
Waldemar
marches an
army against
the confede-
rate princes.

The battle of
Bornhovede.

Waldemar
defeated.

* This must have been Henry Burevinus II. for the father was too old and infirm to take the field at that time.

generals.

generals either slain, or taken prisoners. Among the latter was Otho of Luneburg, the king's nephew, who was sent to the castle of Schwerin to keep company with the sons of that monarch. Such was the issue of the famous battle of Bornhovede, which is justly considered as the æra of restored liberty, by the princes of Mecklenburg and Holstein, and by the cities of Hamburg and Lubeck. It was fought on the twenty-second of July 1227, which day is still celebrated as a festival, and as a day of thanksgiving for this victory, by the city of Lubeck.

The war
continued.

1228.

WALDEMAR had lost an eye, but not his courage; he was rather excited by his late overthrow to act with greater vigour, in order to stem the progress of the confederates. After he had collected the remains of his army, he retired to Denmark, where he raised new levies with such expedition, that he was able to take the field early in the spring. The confederate princes hearing of his approach, put their troops in motion, and both armies encamped on the opposite banks of the Elbe. The king laid siege again to Itzehoe, but whether the remembrance of his late misfortune made him apprehensive of a fresh trial of skill, or whatever else might be the cause, he thought proper to raise the siege upon the approach of the enemy. Then directing his march into the province of Ditmarsh, he plundered several towns, exacted very heavy contributions; and returning through the north part of Holstein, laid waste the whole country with fire and sword. Having thus wreaked his vengeance upon the poor subjects of count Adolphus, he retired to Denmark, intending to increase his army, and to fall upon the enemy the next campaign with redoubled vigour.

DURING these transactions, the confederate army having seized on Ratzeburg and Mollen, laid siege to Lawenburg, which made so gallant a defence, that duke Albert of Saxony, who directed the operations of the siege, thought proper to enter into a negotiation with the inhabitants. The proposal he made to them was, that Albert, count of Orlemund, should be released from his confinement at Schwerin, on condition that the town surrendered. But those brave and loyal people made

answer, that they could not accept of any such terms without the consent of their sovereign. Waldemar was very desirous of delivering the count from his long captivity, and being likewise apprehensive that he should not be able to relieve the town, acquiesced in their making the best capitulation it was in their power to obtain. In consequence of this resolution Lawenburg was surrendered, and the count of Orlemund recovered his liberty. After this event, Waldemar's resentment against the revolted states, seems to have gradually subsided; but whether this was owing to his moderation, as some historians pretend, or to inability of taking his revenge, is not certain*. From that period, the kings of Denmark have dropped their pretensions to the provinces on the southern banks of the Baltic, though they still retain the title of kings of the Vandals. Henry, count of Schwerin, the chief cause of this revolution, did not long survive the battle of Bornhovede, but died in 1228, and left a son named Gunzelinus III †.

Waldemar drops his pretensions against the confederate princes.

HENRY BUREVINUS I. died the very same year in which that famous battle was fought; having had the satisfaction to see his country freed from the Danish yoke, by the valour of his two sons; and of transmitting the great blessing of liberty to his posterity. He was twice married, 1. to Matilda ‡, daughter of Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, by whom he had two sons,

1227.
Death of Henry Burevinus I.

His marriages and issue.

* His two sons, the hostages, and Otho duke of Brunswick Luneburg, were kept in confinement by Gunzelinus III. count of Schwerin, till 1230, when king Waldemar obtained their liberty, upon a further payment of seven thousand marks of silver, and relinquishing all pretensions of sovereignty over the county of Schwerin. Otho of Brunswick was obliged to enter into an engagement he would never more assist the Danes.

† Huitfeld, Crantzius, Pontan, Hamsfort, Alard, Kirchberg, Latomus, Chemnitz, Cypræus, Bangert.

‡ That his first wife Mechtildis, or Matilda, was the daughter of Henry the Lion, appears from witnesses of unquestionable authority: Arnoldus of Lubeck, lib. 3. cap. 4. & iterum l. 4. c. 7. Albert of Stade, p. 270. and Albericus ad ann. 1193. It is true, the two latter historians treat this princess as a natural daughter of Henry; but their testimony, with regard to this particular, is contradicted by the Chronicon vetus Brunsvicensis apud Maderum et Leibnitium, where Henry is said to have espoused Clementia, daughter of the duke of Thuringia, by whom he had a daughter, married to a powerful prince of the Venedi. This chronicle however is mistaken in regard to Matilda's

Henry Burevinus II. and Nicholas, and one daughter, named Catharine, married to John, count of Oldenburg. His second

Matilda's mother. We have seen that in 1183 or 1184, Matilda had a son, old enough to be hostage for his father; consequently Henry Burevinus I. must have been married while Pribillaus was living. This prince tired out by the calamities of a long and bloody war, submitted to Henry the Lion in 1167, embraced the Christian religion, and entered into a strict intimacy and alliance with that powerful prince. To cement this union, it is probable, the duke gave him his daughter Matilda in marriage. Supposing Henry Burevinus's son to have been at least fifteen when he was delivered up as an hostage by his father, he must have been born in 1168. Hence it may with great reason be conjectured, that the nuptials were celebrated in 1167, the very year in which the reconciliation between the two princes was effected. At what time this princess Matilda died, we are not informed; only we know it was before the decease of her husband, since we find him married to a second wife, whose name was Adelaïd.

Let us now proceed to an inquiry concerning the mother of Matilda, with the assistance of the ancient Chronicles. In the chronicle of Albericus ad annum 1168, we meet with these words: "A noble countess of Longwy, whose name was Ermenfonsdis, had for issue count William of Luxemburg, the father of Conrad; Ermenfonsdis, countess of Namur, the wife of count Godfrey; and Matilda, countess of Longwy, Homberg, and Castel. This Matilda had by the count de Castel, count Folmar, and his two sisters, Helwidis who was married to Gerard, of the diocese of Wurtzburg; and another, by whom Reneke of Brunswick had a daughter, who was settled in the country of the Venedi." If we compare these last words of Albericus in the original, viz. "in Slavia hæreditavit," we shall find them to be the same as those he used before, in giving an account of Henry's natural daughter, who married or settled among the Venedi. Hence it is sufficiently clear, that the word Reneke is a corrupt reading, instead of which we should substitute Henecke of Brunswick. Now Henecke and Henry are the same name; and the addition of Brunswick plainly denotes Henry the Lion. Therefore the mother of Matilda, "quæ in Slavia hæreditavit," that is, who was married in the country of the Slavi, was the daughter of the countess of Luxemburg, and the count de Castel. The name of this count is given us by Du Chene in *Probationibus Luxemburgicis*, where we find these words, p. 33. "The letters of Henry bishop of Tull, mentioning, that Folmar count of Castel, the son of count Godfrey, granted the allodial estate of Morillummaifuil, to the church of our blessed Lady de Beaupre." At what time this count lived, appears from the charter of Stephen bishop of Metz (apud Calmet, *Prob. T. II. p. 285.*) "To which translation were witnesses---count Godfrey de Castel. Given at Sens VI. Kal Jan. in the year 1127. Indict. V." This illustrious family took its name from Bliscastel; for thus it was that *Castra* or *Castellum* used formerly to be rendered in the vernacular language. It is washed by the river Blisus, La Bloise, and in ancient times belonged to the *Pagus Blesensis*, now in the duchy of Deux-ponts, not far from Deux-ponts and Homberg.

From Folmar, the uncle of our Matilda, were descended the counts of Castel. The last heiress of this family was Elizabeth, who brought that estate in marriage to the

wife was Adelaid, of whom we have no certain accounts, though some modern writers pretend she was a daughter of Lescus the White, king of Poland.

HENRY BUREVINUS the elder had the figure of a griffin engraved on his seal; and his son Henry Burevinus II. prince of Mecklenburg, followed the father's example. Nicholas, of Rostock, his second son, was the first who made use of the head of an ox or a buffalo, as appears from authentic copies of seals in Westphal. (Tab. VII. tom. 4.) "*colligere hinc licet pronum gryphum Mecklenburgo, bubulum caput Rostochio ad-*

Arms of
Mecklen-
burg.

the counts of Salm in 1277. From the same stock were likewise derived the most powerful counts of Luzzelstein, who were extirpated by the elector Palatine in 1458. The above-mentioned Matilda was also nearly related to the counts of Metz, Sarbruck, Deux-ponts, and to the landgraves of Alsace, who are all descended through the old counts of Metz of the ninth and tenth centuries, from Werner lord of the Pagus Blesensis about the year 728. Now, is it at all probable, that a lady of such ancient and splendid descent as the countess de Castel, should have fallen into the arms of Henry any other way than by lawful wedlock? I confess there is no authority of cotemporary writers for this marriage; but this is only a negative argument, and consequently of no great efficacy or weight. The suspicious expressions of Albert of Stade, and Albericus, are refuted by Arnoldus of Lubeck, the continuator of Hel moldus, who speaks of her as a legitimate daughter. And the ancient Chronicle of Brunswick plainly intimates, that Matilda's mother was a princess of the same rank and fortune as Clementia of Zahringen, who was recommended to Henry by the emperor Frederick. We may therefore conclude, that Matilda's mother must have been Henry's lawful wife, and that Matilda of course was that prince's legitimate daughter.

Neither do we meet with any difficulty in chronology to invalidate this opinion; but, on the contrary, we find it corroborated by a variety of circumstances. Clementia was married after the year 1148. Henry the Lion departed this life in 1195, aged sixty-six: consequently he was born in 1129. His daughter Matilda was married to Henry Burevinus I. in 1167. Let us suppose her at that time to have been nineteen, she must have come into the world in 1148, and then her mother might have been married in 1147, when Henry was only eighteen years of age. All this is very possible, and implies no contradiction or absurdity. The difficulty is to know how they came to separate, whether by divorce, or by death: the former seems most probable. In short it may reasonably be supposed that the rich, the beautiful Clementia, made such an impression on Henry, as induced him to part with the countess of Blisecastel, who perhaps was also allied to him by ties of consanguinity. But this last is only a conjecture; however, we have dwelt the longer on the present article, as it tends to illustrate a point, in which the honour of the serene house of Mecklenburg is in some measure concerned. (See Gebhardi's dissertation on this subject in *Origines Mecklenburgicæ*.)

hæfisse.") Hence it is that the griffin remained the arms of Mecklenburg; and the buffalo's head continued to be the arms of Rostock. Henry Burevinus the elder's second wife Adelaid was living in 1219*.

Division of
the territories
of Mecklen-
burg.

Death of
prince Ni-
cholas.

1228.

Death of
Henry Bure-
vinus II.

UPON the death of Henry Burevinus I. † his two sons divided their father's dominions in 1227. Henry Burevinus II. had the lordship of Rostock, and Nicholas the principality of Mecklenburg. Nay some writers pretend that this division was made during the life of their father. Be that as it may, Nicholas did not live long to enjoy his share of the dominions; but had the misfortune to be crushed by the fall of an old house at Gadebusch in 1228. As he died without issue, having never been married, his division fell to his brother Henry Burevinus II. who thereby became sole sovereign of the territories belonging to the house of Mecklenburg.

WE find little or no mention in history of Henry Burevinus II. after the death of his father, except his resigning his right, in conjunction with his brother, to the district of Butzow, in favour of the bishop of Lubeck. This resignation is grounded on the founding of that bishopric by Henry the Lion, who settled those lands on that see by the original donation. This must have induced the two princes to consider the above lands as church property, to which they ought to relinquish all claim and pretension. Nothing further can we affirm with regard to this transaction; because the letters of renunciation are not extant. Concerning the year in which this prince died, there are some doubts among the historians of Mecklenburg. Some place this event in 1226, before the death of his father, others in 1232, and others again in 1236. The latter opinion is maintained by Latomus, and reckoned the most probable. According to this writer's account, Henry set out that very year 1236, with his two sons, John and Nicholas, for the city of Wurtz-

* Arnold. Lub. Crantz. Corner, Kirchberg, Peterfen, Beehr, Kluver, Gebhardi, Buckholtz.

† Some writers assert, that this prince took his name from the mother's father, Burvin or Borwin, king of Norway.

burg, where they assisted at a pompous tournament. But soon after their return to Mecklenburg, Henry was seized with a violent illness, which in a few days put an end to his life. This uncertainty concerning the year of his death, is owing to the custom of those princes of associating their children in the regency, as soon as they arrived at years of maturity. Thus we find it in the case of Henry Burevinus I. in the name of whose sons we meet with diplomas, in which they are stiled princes and sovereigns, before the decease of their father.

HENRY BUREVINUS II. married Sophia, daughter of Charles king of Sweden, by whom he had four sons and three daughters. The eldest daughter, named Sophia, was married to a prince of Cyprus, of the house of Lusignan. The second, named Magdalen, was married to a count of Marseilles; and Margaret, the third daughter, had for her husband Gunzelin III. count of Schwerin. The four sons divided their father's dominions, in consequence of which the family was branched out into four different lines. The elder brother, prince John, surnamed the Theologian, had the principality of Mecklenburg. The second brother, Nicholas IV. received the principality of Wenden. The third brother, Henry Burevinus III. had the country or lordship of Rostock. The younger brother, Pribislaus III. had the country of Parchim, Sternberg, and Reichenberg. From the first of these branches the present most serene family is descended. The second continued till 1436, in which year died William, the last prince of Wenden and Gustrow, whose only daughter and heiress was married to Ulric II. duke of Mecklenburg Stargard. The third and fourth branches were of much shorter duration than the other two; for that of Henry Burevinus III. ended in his grandson Nicholas Puer, lord of Rostock, who departed this life in 1314. And that of Pribislaus III. became extinct in his son Pribislaus IV. who breathed his last in 1325. But to avoid perplexity in our historical narrative concerning the elder branch, we intend to give a separate dissertation on the other three, in the last chapter of this book.

His marriages and issue.

Partition of his dominions.

Another partition.

WITH regard to the present partition, it may be observed, that before the year 1237 this country had been already divided into two parts, and that John II. and Pribislaus had the joint administration of Mecklenburg and Parchim, while Nicholas and Burevin were possessed of that of Rostock and Wenden. But since it is probable, that Henry Burevinus II. was still living in 1236, we can consider that partition in no other light than as a co-regency, which the two eldest sons enjoyed at that time, the one in Mecklenburg, and the other in Wenden, with the consent and approbation of their father; and that it was the express will and desire of Henry Burevinus the elder, that John should admit Pribislaus, and Nicholas Henry Burevinus III. to a future partition of his dominions. This partition accordingly took place in 1237, and was perhaps consistent with justice on account of their father's will; though it must be acknowledged to have been contrary to sound policy: for by this ill-judged regulation, the power of this princely house was greatly weakened. Whether the clergy were any way concerned in promoting this partition, we do not find particularly mentioned; this however is certain, that the priests of those days had raised themselves to a very high degree of power, by availing themselves of the ignorance of the laity; and were on most occasions of importance consulted as oracles. Their aim in advising the partition of any prince's dominions, must have been that of reducing the power of the temporal lords, in order to raise the authority and influence of the mitred abbots and opulent prelates*.

* Arnold. Lub. Crantz. Latomus, Kirchberg, Bangert Orig. Lub. Hamsfort reb. Holfat. Alard reb. Nordalb. Hederich Megapol. Chron. Holfat. Vetus, Peterfen Chron. Holst. Pont. Bechr, Kluver, Buckholtz.

C H A P. VII.

John the Theologian, prince of Mecklenburg, succeeds his father in 1237. His education and learning. Affairs of the empire and of Denmark. Siege of Lubeck. Foundation of Wismar. Civil war in Denmark concluded by the mediation of the prince of Mecklenburg. John undertakes an expedition to Livonia. Suppresses public robberies. Dies. His issue.

JOHN the THEOLOGIAN,
The fourth PRINCE of MECKLENBURG.

From 1237 to 1264.

EMPERORS of GERMANY,

FREDERICK II. - - - 1212.

CONRAD IV. - - - 1250.

WILLIAM, earl of Holland, - - 1254.

RICHARD, earl of Cornwal, - - 1257.

KING of ENGLAND,

HENRY III. 1216.

JOHN, the eldest son of Henry Burevinus II. succeeded his father in the principality of Mecklenburg, though not in his other dominions, which, as we have already observed, were parcelled out among his brothers. He had early in life discovered a strong propensity to learning, which his father thought it advisable to cultivate, by sending him to the university of Paris, for his farther improvement in knowledge. It is affirmed by some, that the chief motive of his studies was, that he might be initiated in the art of government, and instructed in the various duties of a prince. Had this been the sole view of sending him to Paris, he would not surely have been permitted to attach himself with such assiduity to the study of

1237.
John the Divine goes through a course of studies at Paris.

of divinity; but they would have directed him to confine himself to law and politics, studies more suitable to a prince than the scholastic subtleties of that age. One would rather be apt to infer from the nature of his speculations, and his residing so long in that capital, that he had been designed for the church, a sphere in which he would probably have made a considerable figure. For his zeal and love of religion were real and unaffected, and his manners pure and unblemished. He is said to have resided twenty years at Paris, and at length to have received the degree of doctor of divinity. This honour, it seems, was not then confined to ecclesiastics, otherwise there must have been an exception in favour of this prince. The length of time he employed in his studies, is questioned, however, by some modern writers, who suppose the number twenty to be a mistake of the transcriber of the annals; as ten years would have been more than sufficient for any theologian, and especially of princely dignity, to qualify himself for a degree of doctor of divinity. Science, in those days of ignorance, was reckoned so great a prodigy, that even the sovereigns of distant countries used to send their children to Paris, which was at that time looked upon as the center of learning and arts. Among those illustrious students were said to have been a son of the king of Cyprus, a prince of Marseilles*, and the count of Henneberg. With these princes our learned theologian of Mecklenburg cultivated an acquaintance, which was afterwards cemented by family alliances. For John himself espoused the sister of the

* Crantzius mentions his marrying his sisters to the above-mentioned princes, as something very extraordinary; yet he thinks the story not unworthy of credit, as it is recorded in the annals of the family. Some have doubted of the truth of this story from the circumstance of the prince of Marseilles, imagining there was no such principality at that time; but in this they are greatly mistaken. The principality here alluded to was the viscounty of Marseilles, which contained the whole tract of country from Toulon to Martigues and Foz along the sea-side. The first viscount of this country was Pons, the brother of Boso, count of Provence; and this Pons died in 980. The inhabitants of Marseilles purchased their liberty afterwards of this family in the thirteenth century, which they were obliged to surrender to Charles I. king of Naples, and count of Provence. Guesnay, Bouche, Hist. de Provence.

count of Henneberg, and one of his sisters, named Sophia, gave in marriage to the prince of Cyprus, and the other to the prince of Marseilles. Upon his return to his own country, he is said to have behaved with a stiffness and gravity peculiar to men of letters, which his countrymen imputing to a pedantic pride, could not help looking upon him with an eye of contempt, and calling him in derision *Knese Janike*, as much as to say *Lord Little-John*. But this prejudice wore off, when he came to assume the reins of government, and to exert the knowledge he had acquired by long travel and study, in enacting good laws, encouraging industry, and promoting the interest of religion. The affection, however, which this prince bore to true piety and learning, does not seem to have divested him of courage; since some writers affirm, that he exerted himself with great bravery at the famous battle of Bornhovede, in 1227. For soon after his father's decease, he is said to have been recalled from France by his grandfather; and in conjunction with his uncle Niclotus, to have had the command of the troops of Mecklenburg in that memorable engagement*.

ABOUT this time the old divisions between the church and state, and the cruel factions of Guelfs and Gibellines, were unhappily revived. Frederick II. having been crowned at Rome by Honorius III. in 1220, espoused the princess Joland, daughter of John de Brienne, titular king of Jerusalem. By his marriage he had engaged to undertake an expedition to the Holy-land, in order to rescue his wife's inheritance out of the hands of the Infidels. But delaying to fulfil his vow, he was excommunicated by Gregory IX. who succeeded Honorius III. Frederick, desirous of being absolved from the excommunication, at length embarked for Palestine, where he signed a treaty with the Saracens; and, in consequence thereof, was crowned king of Jerusalem. Upon his return from the Holy-land, he was involved in new broils with the same pope, which were accommodated at length in 1230. Henry, the emperor's eldest

Disturbances
in the em-
pire.

* Crantziius, Kirchberg, Corner, Chemnitz, Bacmeister, Beehr, Kluver, Nettlebladt.

1245.

son, happening not long after to conspire against his father, he confined him to a castle in Apulia; and Conrad, his second son, was elected king of the Romans. A rebellion breaking out in Italy, Frederick marched an army against the revolted, and obtained a complete victory over them at a place called Curia Nova. The pope, alarmed at his successes, fulminated his anathemas against him under various pretences; and, among the rest, for blaspheming Christ at the diet of Frankfort. At that very juncture, Gregory departed this life, and was succeeded by Innocent IV. This pontiff convoked a council at Lions, where Frederick was again excommunicated and deposed: but Frederick appealed to a future council. Henry, landgrave of Thuringia, and William, count of Holland, were successively chosen in his stead; the former was killed at the siege of Ulm; and the latter began to maintain his ground, when Frederick finding fortune beginning to frown upon him, retired to the kingdom of Naples, of which he was sovereign, and departed this life in 1251.

1238.
Affairs of
Denmark.

WE must now cast an eye towards Denmark and Holstein, where we shall find a busy scene of operations, in which the princes of Mecklenburg were more immediately concerned. Adolphus, count of Holstein, the same who had defeated king Waldemar at the battle of Bornhovede, had some dispute with the Lubeckers, whom he had so lately preserved from destruction. This dispute, at length, was fomented to an open war; and Adolphus, to vent his indignation against his old friends and allies, had recourse to his inveterate enemy the king of Denmark. This produced an unnatural association between those two potentates, to the prejudice of an innocent state, of whose sudden prosperity they were grown immoderately jealous. The king bore the same ill-will to the Lubeckers as to Adolphus, and therefore thought it good conduct to assist one enemy, in order to destroy the other. While Adolphus, who was reinforced by a strong body of Danish troops, laid siege to this city by land, the king sent a fleet up the Trave, and blocked up the mouth of that river with strong chains and booms, to prevent the

the enemy from receiving any succours. The Lubeckers being streightened for provisions, had undertaken to divert the current of the Trave, when a large fleet of their merchantmen arriving seasonably to their relief, availed themselves of a brisk gale of wind to break the chains, and supply the garrison. This obliged the enemy to raise the siege *, which was not, however, the only disgrace the Danes sustained on this occasion. For their fleet afterwards sailed up the river Warnow, and the alarm being spread about the country, that the inveterate enemies of the Venedi were preparing to land, Nicholas, prince of Rostock, brother of John the Theologian, gave orders for some of his vessels to attack the Danish squadron; the Lubeckers falling upon them at the same time, the Danes were caught between two fires, and intirely defeated †.

ABOUT this time, Guncelinus II. count of Schwerin, son of the first count of that name, is said to have laid the foundation of the city of Wismar ‡ in the neighbourhood of Mecklenburg. The origin of its name is not explained by Saxon writers, and the notion of its being derived from a king so called is rejected by most authors as fabulous. What a strange revolution of sublunary things! The reason assigned for the building of this town was, that the city of Mecklenburg, from its enormous size, was incapable of being fortified; and therefore it would be proper to build a small fortress on that coast, to check any sudden incursion of an enemy. This small fortress soon became a handsome sea port, and the great city of Mecklenburg, from which the princes of this serene family

1228.
Foundation
of Wismar.

* After this disaster, count Adolphus became a franciscan friar.

† Crantzius, Pontan.

‡ This account is, according to Crantzius, followed by Hubner, and most historians, who maintain that the town of Wismar, having been intirely burnt and destroyed at the time of the Venedic wars, was rebuilt this year by the count of Schwerin. Yet Beselin and Chemnitz affirm, that the counts of Schwerin only assisted the prince of Mecklenburg in building this city. Kirchberg, who lived in the reigns of duke Albert I. and Albert II. king of Sweden, says positively, that Wismar was begun to be built by Henry Burevinus I. from whence Chemnitz concludes, that John the Theologian forwarded the work undertaken by his grandfather, wherein he might probably be assisted by his brother-in-law Gunzel, count of Schwerin.

have taken their name, dwindled away to a village. Wismar was soon peopled from Saxony, and even greatly thrived by the ruins of Mecklenburg, which, on the other hand, in some measure owed its downfall to the other's prosperity*.

1237.
John the
Theologian
makes some
religious
foundations;

JOHN the Theologian, upon his father's decease, entered into a joint administration with his brother Pribislaus, but soon after this regulation they agreed to a partition; and John, as the eldest, had the principality of Mecklenburg assigned him. The commencement of his administration was extremely pacific, his studies being now converted from empty speculations, to the establishment of religion, and promoting the prosperity of his people. He founded a nunnery at Rhene, by the advice of Ludolphus, bishop of Ratzeburg, for the education of young ladies in the principles of the Christian religion. It is true, the letters of this foundation † run in the name of the above-mentioned bishop; but when we consider, that the several donations made by that prelate, are lands situated in the principality of Mecklenburg, it is probable that those lands were granted by prince John for that religious purpose, though the honour is intirely claimed by the bishop. From authentic monuments ‡ it appears, that John made a considerable donation to the above monastery this very year, and another of equal importance in 1255; from whence we may well presume, that our prince and his brothers had, at least, an equal share in this foundation with bishop Ludolphus. The same prince made several donations to the convent of Dobberan; among the rest, a chalice of crystal, and a curious Bible, intirely in his own hand-writing. He likewise confirmed all the privileges and donations which that monastery had received from his brothers. His granting a full liberty to the inhabitants of Riga, to carry on the same trade with Mecklenburg as they did with Lubeck, shews the attention he had to draw

and encour-
rages trade.

* Crantzius, Chemnitz; Kirchberg, Buckholtz.

† The letters of this foundation are in Westphal's Diplom. Meckl.

‡ They are to be seen in Schroden's Church History, and in Godfrey Bulow.

wealth

wealth from foreigners into his own country, and to enrich his subjects by the improvement of commerce. For this reason it was he granted so many privileges to the Lubeckers, to encourage them to trade with his subjects. During his administration, several towns were built in the duchy of Mecklenburg, though all of them were not at that time subject either to his or to his brother's jurisdiction. Among these are Friedland and New Brandenburg, both of them built in 1248, by the margraves of Brandenburg, who were then lords of the district of Stargard; and the town of Grabow, which was founded in 1252 by Vollrath, count of Danneberg*.

THIS year was distinguished by an alliance between the cities of Lubeck and Hamburg, for the security of their respective commerce. The Hamburgers took upon them to keep the road between the Trave and their town clear from robbers, and at the same time to prevent the river Elbe from being infested by pirates; on the other hand, the inhabitants of Lubeck agreed to defray half the expences required for effecting both these purposes. It was at the same time stipulated, that in all matters conducive to the improvement and advantage of the two cities, they should consult together; and with their joint forces assert and maintain their civil rights and privileges. This is generally supposed to have been the origin of the famous confederacy of the Hanse towns, which afterwards rose to such an amazing pitch of power and opulence.

1241.
Origin of the
Hanseatic
alliance.

IT is a difficult matter to trace the etymology of the word Hanse; some derive it from the German term "an zee," which signifies near the sea, as the alliance at first was confined to maritime towns: but others, with a greater appearance of probability, deduce it from the Saxon word "hanseln," which imports to admit into a society or alliance. The example of Lubeck and Hamburg was afterwards followed by a considerable number of trading cities, (especially at the time of the great interregnum in 1264,) which joined in the confederacy for their mutual defence and support. The several cities that en-

* Crantz. Kirchberg, Backmeister, Beehr, Kluver, Nettleblatt.

tered into this association were at a distance from each other, and subject to different governments; but as the confederacy first took rise on that part of the Baltic shore, which had been formerly inhabited by the Vandals, the six commercial towns within that tract were connected by a stricter alliance: these were Lubeck, Hamburg, Rostock, Wismar, Stralsund, and Luneburg, distinguished in the middle ages by the appellation of the Vandalic cities. Two of these, viz. Rostock and Wismar, were subject to the princes of Mecklenburg. The situation of the six Vandalic cities, being to the east of England, France, and the Netherlands, the inhabitants of the above cities were generally stiled in these countries Osterlingi, or Easterlings *. The number of cities that entered into this association gradually increased, till at length they amounted to fourscore. Besides the towns on the Baltic, and in other parts of Germany, the Hanseatic league was extended to Antwerp, Dort, Amsterdam, Bruges, Ostend, and Dunkirk in the Netherlands; London in England; Calais, Rouen, St. Maloes, Bourdeaux, Bayonne, and Marseilles in France; Barcelona, Seville, and Cadiz, in Spain; Lisbon in Portugal; Leghorn and Naples in Italy; and Messina in Sicily. During the most flourishing period of their association, they had four general comptoirs for the direction of their affairs, and the sale of their commodities; one at London, another at Berghen in Norway, a third at Novogrod in Russia, and a fourth at Bruges in Flanders. This alliance, which was formed at first with no other view than to secure commerce against the depredations of robbers and pirates, in process of time gave rise to a formidable republic, which, intoxicated with prosperity, filled the north of Europe with the terror of its arms, and ventured to wage war with the greatest potentates. But when the kings of England,

* It is said, that in the reign of king John, some of those Easterlings were invited into England, in order to reduce the money to its due standard, in which they were more skilful than the English; and that the money they coined, was distinguished by the name of Easterling or Sterling, that is, made by the Easterlings, and therefore purer than the former coin.

France,

France, Spain, Sweden, Denmark, &c. began to erect trading companies in their respective dominions in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, they forbid their subjects to enter any longer into this confederacy; and in consequence of this prohibition, the power of the Hanse towns was considerably diminished. They, however, still continued to keep up their alliance; and to their ancient laws * added some new regulations; by one

* The code of ancient laws of the Hanseatic alliance, was drawn up at a general assembly in Lubeck, in the year 1418. This code is very concise, and as it is now become scarce, we have thought proper to give a copy of it for the curious, from H. Korner's new Chronicle.

“ I. Nullus civis amplius facere debet quancunque fuorum concivium convocationem, congregationem aut conventionem aut commotionem concitare in communitate, vel parthias (i. e. factiones) suscitare contra suum consulatum, sub pœna privationis vitæ; quam incurrere debet ipso facto. II. Si in posterum aliquis de consulatu cujuscunque civitatis, vel pars consulatus per communitatem deponeretur violenter, illa civitas ipso facto privata esse deberet civitatum aliarum de Ansa consortio & auxilio, nec amplius gaudere deberet privilegiis & libertatibus earundem, donec delictum suum emendaret, omnia ad pristinum reducendo. III. Si alicujus civitatis consulatus per suam communitatem privaretur violenter aliquo, quod ad ipsius honestatem & auctoritatem consuetam pertineret, illius civitatis consules nullibi admitti deberent ad concilia & tractatus aliarum civitatum de Ansa; et si illa communitas non emendaret delictum suum, de ipsa ansa secludi deberet in pœnam. IV. Nullus sive sit civis vel hospes habens negotiari coram consulatu civitatis, secum amplius ducat plures quam sex; si autem adduxerit plures, totiens duas marcas argenti puri solvat, quot fuerint personæ super numerum taxatum adductæ. V. Nullus gaudere debet privilegiis & libertatibus mercatorum, nisi sit civis alicujus civitatis de Ansa. Nec debet quiscunque effici civis duarum civitatum simul, nec esse caput mercatorum, quod vulgariter Oldersmann dicitur, nisi sit civis alicujus urbis de Ansa. VI. Quicumque mutuo acceperit pecuniam ab aliquo in una civitate, & non persolvendo eam intraverit aliam urbem ad manendum ibidem, non debet recipi ab illa civitate in securitatem, id est Leyde; et si asscuratus fuerit ex ignorantia, in nullo sibi suffragari debet. VII. Nullus emere debet pannum unius terræ vel civitatis nondum tinctum & coloratum, & ipsum transferre ad colorandum in aliam terram vel civitatem, sed ubi emtus fuerit pannus, ibi et colorandus est sub pœna privationis ejusdem panni. VIII. Nullus civis, vel hospes, debet segregare pecuniam, vel monetam, magis ponderosam vel meliorem a minus bona, vel minus ponderante, propter lucrum suum; qui autem hoc fecerit & deprehensus fuerit, expelli debet de cunctis civitatibus Ansæ, nec alicubi pati debet ad manendum. IX. Nullus monetarius conflare debet auream vel argenteam alicujus principis vel civitatis ad faciendum monetam alterius civitatis, sub pœna privationis bonorum illorum. X. Nullus monetarius conflare debet monetam suam, quam ipse fecit, aut illarum civitatum, cum quibus concordat in pondere auri vel argenti monetando, sub pœna solutionis centum marcarum monetæ Lubicensis. XI.

Nemo

of which they excluded from their society all towns but those of Germany, or such as depended upon the empire. They then ranged themselves under four metropolitans, Lubeck, Cologne, Brunswick, and Dantzick. Since that period, the confederacy has been constantly upon the decline, and is now reduced to the cities of Lubeck, Hamburg, Bremen, Rostock, Dantzick, and Cologne. At the head of these is Lubeck; the general assemblies

Nemo aurifabrorum conflare debet pecuniam monetam in sua fornace sub pœna perjurii. XII. Non debet quiscunque mercator, vel nauta, emere bladum vel frumentum antequam crescat, vel alleça (halecem) strumulum aut capturam ejus, vel pannum antequam fiat. Si autem oppositum factum fuerit, tunc venditor dabit civitati suæ 10. marcas, & emtor privabitur bonis emtis in pœnam. XIII. Nullus nauclerus aut mercator debet onustare navem blado aut frumento, et ducere per portas Norfund aut Beltfund, aut per Albiam aut Wyseram nisi de civitatibus de Ansa sub pœna privationis bonorum fuorum. XIV. Nullus laicus consignare debet personis ecclesiasticis debita sua activa ad monendum, sed debet ea se monere & extorquere a suis debitoribus per jus civile, dummodo justitiæ complementum a judice habere poterit, sub pœna expulsionis de omnibus civitatibus de Ansa. XV. Nullus vendere debet arma vel victualia piratis, raptoribus, aut latronibus, sub pœna privationis vitæ. XVI. Si aliqua navis periclitata fuerit in mari, ex tunc naucleri obligantur ad fideliter laborandum pro conservatione bonorum mercatorum, et pro illo labore debent remunerari competenter. XVII. Nautæ ducentes blada vel frumentum debent esse obligati ad refrigerandum illa pro sua necessitate, ne corrumpantur, & pro illo labore debent specialiter pretiari. XVIII. Nullus nauta debet navem suam ultra metam onustare, sub pœna refusionis damni. Et si in casu nullum sequeretur damnum, æque bene nauta ille pretium suum amittere debet, & nauo privari in pœnam. XIX. Si qui piratis et raptoribus maris bona mercatorum per eos deprædata violenter abstulerint, mediam partem bonorum illorum sic ablatorum ipsi retinebunt, et residuam partem mercatoribus spoliatis restituere tenebuntur. Si autem per naves de civitatibus de Ansa ad protectionem maris missas hoc factum fuerit, tunc bona illa integraliter restitui debent illis, quibus ablata fuerunt. XX. Nullus sub pœna privationis vitæ emere debet bona per piratas vel vitalianos rapta, aut in mari per naufragium aut periculationem aliam amissa, aut ab alio inventa et detenta violenter. XXI. Nullus nauta post festum S. Martini navigare debet de quibuscunque partibus, aut recedere de loco, ubi hyemavit, ante festum cathedræ Petri, navibus cerevisia vel halecibus onustis duntaxat exceptis. Illæ enim naves, si post festum S. Nicolai onustarentur, ad portum transire possent, si valerent, & etiam statim post festum Purificationis recedere a portu, ubi hyemassent, cum licentia possent. XXII. Si naucleri et familia nautarum in periculis et necessitatibus maris non juverint fideliter dominos suos ad conservationem bonorum in navibus contentorum, aut receßerint pertinaciter a suis nautis in tali necessitate, illi mox turribus & vinculis mancipari debent, cum ad portum pervenerint, & puniri in pane et aqua per quindenam."

are summoned in that city, which is also entrusted with the treasures destined for the public service. The ordinary assemblies are held once in three years, and the extraordinary upon emergent occasions. Such was the rise and decline of the Hanseatic alliance, which, like most human institutions, owed its fall to that pride which grandeur and success scarce ever fail to inspire *.

THIS same year died Waldemar II. king of Denmark; a prince distinguished by his virtues and great qualities. He was surnamed the Victorious, from the successes which attended his arms in the commencement of his reign. He was humane, generous, and beloved by his people, who were indebted to him for a code of excellent laws. He frequently administered justice in person, and did not think it below his dignity to enter into the minutest details of government. His compassion for the miseries of his people made him stifle all sentiments of revenge. He was courageous almost to temerity; yet in the time of action he never lost that coolness which is so necessary a qualification in a general. He was great, and worthy of the highest renown, as well for his moderation in the midst of the most glorious triumphs, as for his constancy in bearing the hardships of a long captivity.

If his prudence can in any respect be arraigned, it must have been in the provision he made for his male children in his lifetime, by settling separate governments on them, and investing them all with a kind of sovereignty. Eric, the eldest son, was crowned king; Abel, the second, was created duke of Sleswick; Canute, the third, was made duke of Bleking; and Christopher, the fourth, was duke of Falstre. These princes being independent of each other, a rivalry ensued, which soon extinguished every spark of fraternal affection. Abel disoblinded his whole family by marrying the daughter of Adolphus, count of Holstein; unmindful of the injuries his father had sustained from that very prince. This match was the offspring of ambition; for he imagined it would be the means of

1241.
Death of
Waldemar
II. king of
Denmark.

Affairs of
Denmark.

*-Bechr, Wredenhausen.

strength--

strengthening his interest by a powerful alliance, so as to wrest the crown from his brother Eric. This last prince was surnamed Plog Penning, on account of his having laid a tax upon ploughs. Soon after the death of Waldemar, Eric set his mind on recovering the country of Holstein, of which his father had been unjustly despoiled, on the occasion of his captivity. Abel, having espoused the daughter of count Adolphus of Holstein, and being guardian to his children since that prince's retreat to a monastery, undertook the defence of their rights. This produced a civil war, which was soon compromised by the interposition of neighbouring princes; but Eric demanding homage for the duchy of Sleswick, and Abel as positively refusing it, the war broke out afresh between the two brothers, and was again terminated by the interposition of mediators.

1242.

1244.

1247.
Troubles in
Denmark.

The prince
of Mecklen-
burg takes
part in the
civil war.

AMBITION, however, had taken so deep a root in Abel's breast, that he could not long remain quiet. The king still insisting on his sovereignty over provinces which had been always dependent on the crown, Abel again refused, and persuaded his brothers, Canute and Christopher, to follow his example. Thus was the war renewed with greater fury than ever, and both sides had recourse to their allies. John the Theologian, notwithstanding his natural inclination to peace, was induced to take part in this war, from motives of policy, and from a dislike to Abel's ambition, which threatened the tranquility of all his neighbours. Besides, he thought the king had a right to assert his sovereignty over his younger brothers, for provinces that had been always subject to the crown; a subjection which their father Waldemar could not abolish without the consent of the states. He therefore sided with the king; and his example was followed by all his brothers, who steadily adhered to the same interest. On the other hand, Abel and his brothers were joined by the counts of Holstein. Hostilities were carried on with various success, each party committing, in their enemy's territories, all the ravages and barbarities that generally attend a civil war. Abel, and his confederates, carried on

their

their operations with great vigour by sea, while the king, with the auxiliary army of the princes of Mecklenburg, marched into Holstein, made himself master of Oldensloe, and ravaged the whole country. On the other hand, Canute and Christopher over-ran all South Jutland, and laid siege to Ripen, which was soon obliged to surrender. The king all this while was not idle, but had seized upon Laland, Falsτρια, and the rest of Christopher's territories, together with Bleking and Schonen, belonging to Canute, all which he annexed to the crown. During the winter, overtures of peace were made, which proving ineffectual, the campaign was opened early in the spring. The Lubeckers joined the counts of Holstein, and infested the Danish coasts with their shipping; but the Mecklenburghers, under prince John and his brothers, made incursions into Holstein, and revenged the injuries done to Eric. At length this prince came to a decisive battle, in which he gained a complete victory, and took his brother Canute prisoner. His brother Christopher also fell into his hands; but he soon was released upon promising to pay him homage, which he did accordingly. Abel, however, and the two princes of Holstein, still held up their heads, and obtained some advantages in Jutland, from whence they expelled the Danes. At length both parties being exhausted, a negotiation was set on foot at the request of the neighbouring princes, John, marquis of Brandenburg, the duke of Lunenburg, the princes of Mecklenburg, and Albert of Saxony, for settling a definitive treaty. Their disputes were adjusted, with much difficulty, upon the following terms, that Abel should have the title of independent duke, but pay homage for South Jutland; and that Canute should be restored to his possessions, which should however continue to remain subject to the jurisdiction of the crown. The allies were all included in this treaty, and the Mecklenburghers, among the rest, had the satisfaction of contributing greatly towards restoring the general tranquility *.

1248.

* Crantzius, Pontan.

1249.
John the
Theologian
undertakes
an expedition
to Livonia.

JOHN the Theologian might now have spent the remainder of his days in peace, had not his eager desire of propagating the Christian religion among the barbarous nations of the north, made him join with king Eric in an expedition against Livonia. The king's intentions were to recover those provinces which had been torn from Denmark during the late civil commotions; John's were to rescue those people from their ignorance, and blind attachment to an idolatrous worship. Had this been attempted any other way than by the sword, it would have been more suitable to the surname with which the prince of Mecklenburg had been dignified; but divines in those days were of opinion that the sword is the quickest and most effectual method of making profelytes. He should have remembered, that a crusade must have been as disagreeable to the poor Livonians, as the expeditions of that kind had been to his own progenitors. The enterprize was however agreed upon; and to defray the expence of the armament, king Eric was obliged, in the present exhausted state of his finances, to levy an extraordinary tax, which was a sum of money to be paid by each plough. The necessary preparation being made, the two princes, with Henry of Jerusalem, the son of John the Theologian, set sail for Livonia, where they were very successful in their military operations, but had no time to make any great progress in converting the inhabitants. For disputes arising between Eric and the princes of Holstein, with regard to the execution of the late treaty with Abel, Eric was obliged to return to Denmark; and all negotiations proving fruitless, each side had recourse again to arms. The Holsteiners, assisted by the bishops of Bremen and Paderborn, marched to lay siege to Rensburg, which they claimed by the late treaty; and the king used the utmost expedition to relieve it.

Civil war in
Denmark
renewed.

As soon as the king arrived at the fortress of Danewark, he thought proper to pay a visit to his brother Abel, who had not as yet concerned himself in this quarrel. Abel received his brother with all the external marks of affection, but laid a plan at the same time for his destruction: this was to spirit

spirit him off in a boat, and to hire persons to murder him at sea. The barbarous design was accordingly perpetrated; the king's body was thrown over-board, and Abel gave out that the ship had foundered. This report gained credit for a time, till the mangled body of the deceased monarch was thrown on shore by the waves. This was an evident proof of the murder of a virtuous prince, in violation of the ties of blood, and the rights of hospitality. Yet the monster was chosen by the states to succeed his brother, merely from motives of policy, and to avoid the inconveniences of a civil war. He did not, however, long enjoy the fruits of his villany; the laying a new tax upon the people produced a rebellion, in which he was defeated and slain on St. Peter's day, 1252. Though he left two sons, yet his memory was so odious, that the states set them aside, and preferred his brother Christopher, a prince of unblemished character *.

1250.

King Eric
assassinated.

1252.

MUCH about this time a war broke out between the Teutonic order and Suentepoelus III. duke of Pomerania. Fortune had greatly favoured the Pomeranians, when several of the German princes, out of policy or religion, espoused the cause of the above military order. John the Theologian joined in the same cause, with all the ardour of zeal, so as to oblige his third son Poppo to enlist himself in the order, and set out for Prussia, which then belonged to the Teutonic knights. A truce being soon after concluded between the two parties, Henry a Weyda, grand-master of the order, marched all his forces against the Samogitians; and, an engagement ensuing, the Teutonic knights were intirely defeated. In this action prince Poppo, of Mecklenburg, was unfortunately slain, after giving shining proofs of the most undaunted prowess †.

War between
the duke of
Pomerania
and the Teu-
tonic order.

How long the Theological prince was employed in the expedition to Livonia, is not known with any certainty; some are of opinion, that the whole crusade did not last above a year; if

1250.
War between
Denmark
and Holstein.

* Crantzius, Pontan, Meursius, Huitfeld.

† This action seems to have happened two years before the expedition to Livonia.
Bechr.

1253.

this be true, he must have left his son Henry behind him, for the latter continued a considerable time at Riga. Spener in Sylloge says, that John the Theologian compelled the Livonians to embrace Christianity. This may illustrate his zeal, but is no great proof of his knowledge of divinity. After his return to Mecklenburg, we hear no more mention of him, till the flames of war broke out afresh in Denmark in 1253, and reached the country of Mecklenburg, together with the neighbouring parts of Germany. Christopher, king of Denmark, having taken upon himself the guardianship of his brother Abel's children, paid a visit to Sleswick, in order to receive the oath of allegiance from the states of that dukedom, on the behalf of his nephews. The princes of Holstein, imagining he had some other design, sent ambassadors to his majesty, desiring he would put the duchy of Sleswick into the hands of some disinterested person, in trust for the lawful heir. The king was affronted at this message, and refused to grant their request, under pretence that Sleswick had been always settled on one of the king's children. This dispute was productive of a war, in which the counts of Holstein were joined by the margrave of Brandenburg, the princes of Mecklenburg, the Lubeckers, and the rest of the maritime cities on the Baltic. The king fitted out a strong squadron, and made himself master of Sanderburg, which he caused to be dismantled. The confederates marched into the duchy of Sleswick, and sent a powerful fleet to the coast of Schonen, where it fell in with the Danish squadron; this brought on an engagement, which proved no way decisive. At the same time Haquin, king of Norway, espousing the cause of the princes of Holstein, landed a body of troops in Halland, which laid the country waste. Christopher, unable to cope with so many enemies, sued for peace, which was granted on condition he should restore the duchy of Sleswick to his nephews, and indemnify them for their losses by the war. The duke of Pomerania and the princes of Mecklenburg were guarantees of this treaty, which was signed in 1254. This prince was poi-

1254.

* Ibid.

soned

soned afterwards in 1259, and was succeeded by his eldest son Eric VII. surnamed Glipping, from his frequent winking *.

PUBLIC tranquillity had for a considerable time been undisturbed in Mecklenburg, when a dispute arose between prince John and Jaromar prince of Rugen. The latter had built a castle at Damgarten on the Reckenitz, which greatly annoyed the subjects of the lord of Rostock, brother of John the Theologian. This prince having made a complaint of this grievance, and receiving no redress, John, out of regard and affection for his brother, thought proper to interfere; and hostilities ensuing, the Rugian prince was defeated, and obliged, in consequence, to demolish the castle *.

1260.
Quarrel between John the Theologian and the prince of Rugen.

THE year following, the prince of Mecklenburg undertook an expedition to extirpate the gangs of banditti, which, in those times of barbarity and confusion, infested several parts of Germany†. Each castle was the capital of a small district of robbers, who made war against the poor defenceless people in the open country, cutting down their corn, and plundering the unhappy travellers. Among others, there was a castle of this kind situate on a little creek, on the confines of Mecklenburg, and formerly subject to the counts of Holstein‡. The name of this castle was Darfow; and there is still a village known by that denomination on the same spot. The governor appointed by the count of Holstein, did not openly commit any depredations himself; but he countenanced the infamous gang that had laid the whole country under contribution. Count John, the son of Adolphus, received information of this connivance of the governor, and desirous of being convinced of the truth, had ocular demonstration of it. The governor was tried, convicted, and suffered death. But this did not put an end to the mischief, for the soldiers in the castle being accustomed to such iniqui-

1261.
John the Theologian suppresses the Banditti.

* Kirchberg, Latomus, Beehr, Kluver.

† Germany was not the only country where robberies at that time were so frequent; in France, the great lords were obliged to maintain a guard upon the road, from sun-rise to sun-set. Henault.

‡ The castle and district afterwards fell to the house of Mecklenburg; but by what right, whether by conquest, or purchase, or grant, Crantzius cannot tell.

tous practices, not only harboured the banditti, but entered themselves into the gang, and bid defiance to all law and authority. The Lubeckers, who, as a mercantile people, were the greatest sufferers, had recourse to the prince of Mecklenburg, intreating him to grant them his assistance, towards chastising those common enemies of mankind. John, always disposed to eradicate vice, and to protect the innocent, had an interview with the magistrates of Lubeck, in company with his son Henry, surnamed of Jerusalem *. There it was agreed to attack the castle of Darfow with their joint forces, and to extirpate that nursery of robbers. The prince of Mecklenburgh accordingly marched a body of troops, and invested the castle, which, after an obstinate siege, was taken by storm, and razed to the ground. He likewise ordained, that no castle should be hereafter erected on that spot †; and being desirous to encourage commerce, he made a grant to the Lubeckers of the privilege of a free navigation up the little river Reckenitz, beyond the above-mentioned village of Darfow. Thus our good prince, like another Theseus, exerted himself in purging the earth of monsters, who lived by disturbing the repose and security of mankind †.

1263.
War with the
count of
Schwerin.

ABOUT this time the new town of Wismar was burnt down to the ground; and soon after the flames of war broke out between the prince of Mecklenburg and his brother-in-law Gunzelin III. count of Schwerin; the former was joined by his brothers; and the latter by the bishop of Schwerin. This prelate's name was Herman, count of Schladen, and canon of Magdeburg, who had been chosen to that see in 1262 or 1263. Thus the minister of peace engaged in strife, immediately upon his assuming the pastoral office. The cause of this rupture is not known, but it was probably owing to the artifices of that prelate; as before that time there had been always a good understanding between count Gunzelin and the house of Mecklenburg. In the course of this contest, the count of Schwerin

* By this account his son Henry must have gone back to Livonia, for he was certainly in that country at his father's decease.

† Crantzius.

was taken prisoner, and the bishop was dispossessed of Butzow, his usual residence. But it was restored to him again, upon his entering into an engagement, never to take up arms against the princes of Mecklenburg. This was an article of the treaty of peace concluded this same year; in virtue of which the count of Schwerin, and his son count Helmold II. who had been taken prisoner at the same time with his father, were set at liberty*.

JOHN the Theologian did not long survive the concluding of this treaty with the count and bishop of Schwerin. He had the satisfaction, however, before his decease, of procuring to his subjects an honourable peace, and of framing such laws as tended to the encouragement of industry and religion. Thus adored and beloved by his people, he departed this life at a good old age in 1264, and was interred in the town of Gadebusch†.

1264.
Death of
John the
Theologian.

THIS prince married Luitgardis, sister of the count of Henneberg, by whom he had, 1. Henry of Jerusalem, or the Pilgrim, who succeeded him. 2. Nicholas, canon of Schwerin, Magdeburg, and Hamburg; or, according to Chemnitz, dean of Schwerin and Lubeck. 3. Poppo, a knight of the Teutonic order. 4. Herman, dean of Schwerin. 5. Albert, who died soon after his father, without issue, though he had married Judith, a princess of Werle. 6. John III. who at first was a canon of Hildesheim, but quitted the church, and espoused a countess of Ravensberg, by whom he had a son named John, and a daughter named Elizabeth. The son died young, before the father; and the daughter was abbess of Rhene.

His marriage
and issue.

PRINCE John had also a daughter named Luitgardis, who was married to Gerard, count of Holstein; but, accord-

* The treaty of agreement with the count of Schwerin, may be seen in Westphal. Diplom. Meckl.

† John Simonius has given a short elogium of him in the following verses::

Bis duo lustra Deo addictum me Sequana cernit,
Hinc mihi doctura tempora cingit ovans.
Rideor a vulgo: moveor nil, gloria Jovæ,
Atque salus populi est unica cura mihi:
Condo Rhenam: tollo latrones: Livo per arma
Nostra Deo nomen dat: placidusque obo.

ing to Latomus, she was first married to the count of Hoya, and afterwards to the count of Ruppin. With regard to the wife of this prince, it is to be observed, that she was a daughter of count Poppo, and sister of count Hermannus of Henneberg. The latter had studied at Paris, as we have already mentioned, and the friendship contracted in that capital, was productive of this marriage.

BESIDES the above-mentioned children, prince John had an adopted daughter, named Catharine, whom he is said to have found in Livonia on the field of battle, when she was but a child of three years of age; and to have saved her from being trampled to death by the horses. He afterwards put her into the convent of Rhene, where she became a nun; and on that account he increased the revenue of the house with the estate or court of Parpund*. There are writers who suspect this same Catharine to have been a natural daughter of that prince, as the circumstances of her history are somewhat romantic†.

* See the Diploma in Bacmeister.

† Crantzius, Marshal, Bacmeister, Chemnitz, Kirchberg, Beehr, Kluver, Buckholtz.

C H A P.

C H A P. VIII.

Henry of Jerusalem succeeds his father in 1264. Disturbances in the empire. Henry undertakes an expedition or pilgrimage to the Holy-Land. He is taken prisoner by the Saracens. Domestic disturbances in his absence. Early proofs of valour given by his son Henry, surnamed the Lion. He obtains a great victory over the confederate princes. Affairs of Denmark. Tragical death of Henry, senior, prince of Werle. Civil war in the family. Henry of Jerusalem returns to his dominions, after a captivity of five-and-twenty years. Quarrel between Nicholas Puer, and the margrave of Brandenburg.

V. HENRY of JERUSALEM,

The fifth PRINCE of MECKLENBURG.

From 1264 to 1302.

EMPERORS of GERMANY,

RICHARD, earl of Cornwal,	- - -	1257.
RODOLPHUS I. count of Habsburg,		1273.
ADOLPHUS of Nassau,	- - -	1292.
ALBERT I.	- - -	1298.

KINGS of ENGLAND,

HENRY III.	- - -	1216.
EDWARD I.	- - -	1272.

HENRY, surnamed of Jerusalem, from his pilgrimage to the Holy-Land, inherited his father's virtues, as well as his dominions, at a time when the empire of Germany was rent in pieces by civil commotions. This was the period of the great interregnum*, which lasted twenty-three years, from

1264.
Troubles in
the empire.

The great
interregnum.

* The great interregnum is an æra that deserves particular notice, as being the period in which the public law of Germany, and the present constitution of the empire, had their origin. 1. At a time when all laws, human and divine, were con-
Vol. II. P founded,

the death of Frederick II. in 1250, till the election of Rodolphus, count of Habsburg, the first emperor of the house of Austria in 1273. During this period, the imperial throne was either vacant, or filled by a contested election. Frederick II. left his son Conrad, who is stiled the fourth of that name, successor to his dominions; but this prince happening to quarrel, like his predecessors of the house of Suabia, with the see of Rome, was excommunicated by the pope, who confirmed the empire to William, count of Holland. Conrad was taken off by poison in 1254, which was said to have been administered to him by his natural brother Manfred. William, count of Holland, prepared to march into Italy, in order to receive the imperial crown; when he was obliged to turn his forces against the Frisians. As he was upon his march, he fell into an ambuscade, and was slain in 1256. After his decease, the German princes were divided about the election of an emperor; some of them conferred that dignity on Richard, earl of Cornwall, brother of Henry III. king of England; and others upon Alphonfus, king of Castile. But those two princes had scarce any thing more than the imperial title: Alphonfus never set foot in Germany; it is true, Richard, was crowned at Aix la Chapelle: but this honour cost him very dear, for he carried into Germany seven hundred thousand pounds sterling, an immense sum in those days, the loss of which impoverished the

founded, the states situated on the Rhine were obliged to enter into a confederacy for their mutual defence. Thus was formed the alliance of the Rhine in 1255. 2. This example was followed by an association of the trading cities, which is properly the epocha of the Hanseatic alliance. 3. It was in this period that the electoral college was founded, comprehending only the great officers, and excluding the other princes and states of the empire. 4. It was during these troubles that the princes and states of Germany assumed the rights of sovereignty. 5. Several noblemen, for their mutual security, entered into acts of confraternity, by which they engaged to assist one another with their lives and fortunes; and in case either party died without male issue, his lands and possessions should devolve to the survivor. Such are the pacts entered into by the houses of Saxony, Hesse, and Brandenburg, and such were those between the electors of Brandenburg and the dukes of Pomerania. These conventions have greatly contributed to weaken the authority of the emperors of Germany, as thereby they lose the right of disposing of vacant fiefs; hence it is that their consent to these acts was afterwards made requisite, which they very seldom grant.

nation;

nation; and notwithstanding all his endeavours to establish himself on the imperial throne, he was obliged to retire to England, where he ended his days in 1271. The electors assembled at length in 1273, and raised Rodolphus, count of Habsburg, to the imperial throne; and from him the long line of Austrian emperors are all descended*.

SUCH was the general state of affairs in Germany; we come now to those of Mecklenburg. Henry II. † was at Riga in Livonia, when he received advice of his father's death. He was there employed in the crusade or holy war, for which he had conceived an extraordinary passion. His zeal for the propagation of Christianity was his only motive for this expedition, a motive highly commendable, had he not been mistaken, as well as his father, and other princes of those days, with regard to the manner of carrying it into execution. He did not return from Livonia till 1266, when he repaired to Wismar, to receive the homage of that new emporium. The prosperity of this city was greatly owing to the encouragement given by our prince to its infant trade, and to the many privileges with which he favoured the inhabitants. Among others, he granted them the Jus Lubicense, or Laws of Lubeck; and though the diploma be no longer extant, yet there is no doubt of the grant, and the town itself made use of it in 1589, without any opposition ‡.

As Henry's brothers had all embraced the ecclesiastic state, his father thought proper his eldest son should continue the family. He therefore espoused, four years before his father's decease, the princess Anastasia, daughter of Barnim, duke of Pomerania. By this marriage he had two sons, Henry III. surnamed the Lion, and John IV. who married Helen, the daughter of Witlaus, prince of Rugen, but died without issue. He had also two daughters, Luitgardis, married to Primislaus,

Henry of Jerusalem returns from Livonia after his father's decease.

1266.

Henry's marriage and issue.

1269.

* Pfeffel, Heisse, Barre, Scriptor. rer. Germ.

† This prince is called Henry II. though there were several of that name before him, but it is to be observed, that the Burevinus's are not reckoned among the Henries; and therefore Henry, king of the Venedi, is the first of that name.

‡ Beehr has given us some fragments of it, taken from the instructions of the city of Wismar to her deputies at the diet of this province in 1623.

or, as others call him, Mistevin, duke of Gnesna in Poland, and Anna, married to John, count of Holstein. We have taken notice of prince Henry's marriage and issue here in the commencement of his reign, because his children distinguished themselves greatly in his life-time, as the sequel will demonstrate.

Character of
Henry's brother.

His brother John, having had early intelligence of his design to visit the Holy-Land, quitted the church, and entered into the conjugal state. This same John was a prince of a very indifferent character, and is supposed to have altered his condition of life, in hopes of dispossessing his nephews in his brother's absence, and usurping the whole country. So restless was his ambition, that it discovered itself before his brother's departure, who, to quiet his mind, and to prevent him from creating any disturbance in his absence, generously gave him the town and country of Gadebusch. But this brotherly behaviour had not its desired effect; for not content with this partition, he still intended to usurp a greater portion of land, and to seize the regency. And hence it was that he encouraged his brother to execute the design he had formed of embarking in this expedition to the Holy-Land.

1270.
The last crusade.

THIS was the seventh and last crusade, published by pope Clement IV. and undertaken chiefly by St. Lewis, king of France in 1270, to put a stop to the progress of the warlike Bondocdar, sultan of Egypt. The fatal divisions of the Christians in the east had been the cause of the successes of that enterprising prince. The Venetians and Genoese in Syria had waged war against one another since 1255, each endeavouring to assert the empire of the sea; and unfortunately the Christian princes and military orders in that part of the world, engaged in the same quarrel. Bondocdar, availing himself of these circumstances, marched an army into Palestine in 1262, and sitting down before Ptolemais, he ruined the suburbs of that city. He afterwards made himself master of the town of Cæsarea, the castle of Assur, and the fortress of Sephet. Continuing his conquests, he seized the castle of Jaffa, and most of the strong places belonging to the knights Templar, and, at length, subdued

subdued the city of Antioch in 1268. The rapidity of these successes alarmed the European Christians, and produced this last effort to carry the war into the country of the Infidels. The crusade was published in all the Christian states, but met with most encouragement in France, where the king himself was at the head of it. In England, prince Edward, eldest son of Henry III. and who afterwards succeeded his father, received the cross at the hands of the legate, and his example was followed by Henry, son of the king of the Romans, the earls of Warwick and Pembroke, and above a hundred and twenty knights. Animated by these examples, and by a zeal for the defence of Christianity, prince Henry of Mecklenburg took up the cross, and resolved to join the crusading army.

Prince Henry of Mecklenburg resolves to join the crusade.

BUT while he was preparing for this expedition, he thought proper to settle the administration in his absence, in order to prevent any domestic disturbances. He appointed two deputies or stadtholders, who, in conjunction with his wife Anastasia, were to be possessed of the regency. The names of those deputies were Theodoric of Oertz, and Henry of Strahlendorf, men of distinguished rank, and in whose integrity and abilities he placed an unbounded confidence. The restless disposition of his brother prevented Henry from entrusting him with any share of the government, which gave occasion afterwards to that prince to complain of this slight, and served as a pretext for the several disturbances he raised during Henry's absence*.

He settles the regency in his absence.

EVERY thing being prepared for the expedition on the side of France, St. Lewis set out the first of March 1270, and repaired to Aigues Mortes, where he embarked the beginning of July the same year. The fleet arrived soon after at Cagliari in Sardinia, when, instead of sailing directly to Syria, as was at first intended, a resolution was taken, at the instigation of Charles, king of Sicily, St. Lewis's brother, to land the army in Africa, and lay siege to Tunis, with whose king the above-mentioned Charles was at variance. But the pestilence broke

1270.
Particulars of this crusade.

* Crantzius, Kirchberg, Latomus, Chemnitz, Marshal, Nettleblatt, Beehr, Kluyver.

St. Lewis
dies of the
plague.

1271.

1272.

1274.
Henry of Je-
rusalem is
made a slave.

out in the French camp, and the king himself died of it the twenty-fifth of August. His eldest son Philip, who attended him in this expedition, returned to France; but prince Edward of England, resolving to fulfil his vow, continued his voyage to Palestine with the rest of his retinue. He arrived at Ptolemais in the month of May, having only three hundred knights, English and French, with John, duke of Brittany. Yet with these troops, strengthened by five hundred Frisons, and a small reinforcement which prince Edmund, his brother, brought him from England, he prevented Bondocdar from besieging Ptolemais. Such was the situation of affairs in that country, when Henry of Mecklenburg set out upon his expedition, with a numerous retinue. At his arrival he joined prince Edward's army, and was concerned in several engagements with the Saracens, in which he performed the most signal exploits. But Edward's army daily diminishing by sickness, and by those skirmishes with the Saracens, he proposed to the sultan a truce of ten years, which was accordingly concluded. Edward then embarking his troops, set sail for England in 1272, and took possession of the throne, which had lately devolved to him upon the death of his father. Henry staid behind some time, being desirous to visit the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem. Accordingly he set out for that city, but by the way he was unfortunately taken prisoner*, and afterwards carried a slave to Grand Cairo in Egypt. In that wretched condition did he continue five-and-twenty years, before he recovered his liberty; a condition, as Crantzius observes, more severe than even the most ignominious death. Such was the unhappy issue of this crusade: the war ended, at length, in

* The manner of his being taken prisoner is differently related by some other writers. Henry, they say, upon his arrival in Syria, found things in the utmost confusion. Bendocdar had over-run all that province, and pushed the Christians to the seaside, where they were confined to a few fortresses. Henry, after performing the most signal exploits, was obliged to shut himself up in one of those maritime towns, waiting for an opportunity to force his way to Jerusalem, the great object of his devotion. The town being streightened for provisions, he made a vigorous sally, but had the misfortune of being taken prisoner, and afterwards sent to Grand Cairo.

1291, when the city of St. John d'Acre, or Ptolemais, was taken and plundered by the sultan of Egypt, and the Christians were intirely driven out of Syria *.

THE news of Henry's captivity being brought to Europe by some of the crusaders, gave great affliction to the virtuous Anastasia. Her anxiety was so much the more heightened, as she was unacquainted with the circumstances of this prince's servitude, and therefore had it not in her power to relieve him. This was a most torturing state to Anastasia, who was passionately fond of her husband. To add to her distress, John III. of Gadebusch, availing himself of his brother's absence, gave her great disturbance, in order to come in for a share of the regency. And, indeed, Henry had scarce been departed from Germany, when prince John, pretending to have a better right, at least, to the guardianship of the children, than either their mother or the stadtholders, endeavoured to get the young princes into his possession. The tidings of his brother's captivity, and the improbability of his return, rendered this prince more obstinate in his pretensions. Luckily, however, for Anastasia and the young princes, the same claim was formed by the princes of Werle, Nicholas IV. brother of John the Theologian, and his two sons, Henry the elder, and John the Pacific. Nicholas (and his sons as his next heirs) founded his right to the regency and guardianship on being the brother of those children's grandfather, and the eldest of the family; so that he had like to have succeeded in his pretensions, especially as he seemed to have the nobility on his side. But the resolution and invincible firmness of Anastasia and the two stadtholders, defeated the design of those ambitious princes. The stadtholders, strongly attached to their sovereign, shewed themselves most deserving of the confidence which he had placed in their fidelity. Their conduct upon the whole reflects an eternal honour upon their names, of which their descendants, the present noble families of Oertz and Strahlendorf, have such reason to

Disturbances
in Mecklen-
burg about
the regency.

1273.

* Daniel, Rapin, Voltaire, Crantzius, Kirchberg, Latomus, Beehr, Kluver, Buckholtz,

glory.

1276.

glory. Such were the distresses of this country, owing to the weakness of their own prince, who, for the sake of rambling to Jerufalem, was so imprudent, if I may venture to use the expreffion, as to leave his wife, his children, and his subjects, a prey to the ambitious designs of his relations, and of the neighbouring princes. To complete the misfortunes of his family, the margraves of Brandenburg, availing themselves of the intestine divisions of this country, made incursions on the frontiers, and committed great ravages on the poor inhabitants. And what is more extraordinary, they are supposed to have been invited to this invasion, either by the princes of Werle, or by John of Gadebusch, to support the pretensions of those princes. The affair, however, was in some measure compromised; Anaftasia and the stadtholders preserved their trust, notwithstanding the efforts of so many enemies, and all that John of Gadebusch could obtain, was only to be admitted to a share of the regency.

1280.
The young
prince Hen-
ry assumes
the reins of
government.

THE hereditary prince being come to years of maturity, his mother Anaftasia and the stadtholders thought proper to resign the administration into his hands. Though he was not then above eighteen or nineteen years of age, such care had been taken of his education by his worthy guardians, that they looked upon him as thoroughly qualified to hold the reins of government. The event shewed how right a judgment they had formed of prince Henry, who, by his invincible courage, and other excellent qualities, obtained the surname of the Lion. His uncle, John of Gadebusch, was not at all satisfied with the resignation of the guardians, and would fain have continued to hold prince Henry some time longer in a state of dependence. His view was certainly to usurp the government himself, but he was prevented at first by the vigilance of the stadtholders, and afterwards by the undaunted bravery of prince Henry.

1282:
Death of the
prince of
Rostock.

ABOUT this time died Waldemar, prince of Rostock, who was succeeded by his son Nicholas, an infant, and from his weakness surnamed the Child. He was a long time under the guardianship of the young prince of Mecklenburg, and of the
princes

princes of Werle, between whom arose violent contentions, with regard to the town of Rostock, of which we shall have occasion to say more hereafter.

THE ensuing year, the restless ambition of John of Gadebusch once more excited the margraves of Brandenburg to join in a confederacy for stripping the young princes, Henry and his brother, of their paternal dominions. Those margraves were of the house of Anhalt, a family that had been ever ready to interfere in the quarrels of their neighbours of Mecklenburg, not with a view to reconcile them, but, according to the detestable policy of many states, to profit by their divisions. The princes engaged in this alliance were numerous and powerful, John, margrave of Brandenburg, and his brother Otho, the marquis of Misnia, the duke of Saxony, and the duke of Saxe Lawenburg. So formidable a confederacy seemed likely to overpower all opposition, and to crush Henry and his brother to atoms. The pretext for war was a frivolous dispute concerning the limits of their territories; but the real motive was, an ungenerous design to seize the opportunity of oppressing those young princes in their father's absence, and to dismember the dominions belonging to the house of Mecklenburg. They flattered themselves, moreover, that the youth and inexperience of the two brothers, would afford them an easy conquest, and oblige those princes to submit to such terms as the victors should prescribe. The confederates having assembled a mighty army, marched into the country of Mecklenburg, and spread terror and desolation wherever they advanced. The young princes, confiding in the divine protection, and encouraged by the exhortations of their virtuous mother, who offered up her prayers for them incessantly to heaven, drew out what forces they could muster, and resolved to face the enemy. The two armies met between the towns of Grevesmülen and Gadebusch, and prepared for battle. Both parties seemed greatly animated with hopes of victory, the confederates relying on their numbers, which bore an immense disproportion to the Mecklenburghers; the young princes confiding in the justice of

1283.
Alliance against the
young princes of Meck-
lenburg.

The allies
are defeated
by the young
princes.

their cause, and the goodness of their troops, who were fighting for their liberty, for their country, and for their sovereign. The dispute was obstinate between the two armies, but at length, after a warm contest, victory, contrary to the expectations of all men, declared against the numerous host of the confederates. The left wing of the allied army beginning to give way, Henry improved the advantage, and like a torrent bearing down every thing before him, he put the enemy to flight. The number of killed and prisoners on the part of the confederates was great, while the loss on the opposite side was inconsiderable. So complete a victory over an army infinitely superior in numbers, did great honour to the abilities of the young princes, and convinced the confederate leaders of their imprudence, in despising the weakness of their enemy. But this is not the only defeat owing to a contempt of the like kind, which, though it may be proper to instil it into the minds of the soldiery, has proved fatal to many a general *.

The young
princes ex-
tirpate the
banditti.

THE fame of this victory was soon spread through all Germany, and struck a terror into those powers, whose ambition or avarice might prompt them to desire a share of the spoils of our young Lion. Peace and tranquility seemed to be now restored on a solid basis, and the two princes had leisure to suppress the gangs of banditti, who had long infested the high roads with impunity. In this undertaking they were seconded by the citizens of Lubeck, whose inland trade with Hamburg was greatly interrupted by those lawless banditti. What increased the evil, was the retreat which those pests of society found in Saxony, where were several fortresses and castles, in which they screened themselves from the pursuit of justice. The Lubeckers, having made many fruitless complaints on this subject to the duke of Saxony, applied, at length, to the princes of Mecklenburg, who readily complied with their request. An army being raised at their joint expence, they marched to Ratzeburg, where the duke then resided; and demanded

* Crantzius, Marshal, Kirchberg, Latomus, Chemnitz, Beehr, Kluver, Buckholtz.
satisfaction.

satisfaction for the injury done to their commerce. The duke, making an apology for what had passed, gave them free permission to act as they should think proper. In consequence hereof, the princes, together with the Lubeckers, proceeded in their operations; and such was the success of their endeavours, that in a short time the whole gang were dislodged from their dens and receptacles, and the public roads recovered their former security. By a conduct so prudent, and evidently calculated for the public welfare, the princes endeared themselves to their subjects, as well as to all their neighbours, at the same time that they restored peace and tranquility throughout the whole extent of their dominions*.

BUT the happiness of the family received a great interruption this year from the untimely fate of the princess Luitgardis, sister of Henry the Lion. She had been married by her mother Constantia to Primislaus, duke of Gnesna, with the advice and approbation of the duke of Stettin, the father of Constantia. Notwithstanding the great accomplishments of body and mind, with which Luitgardis was endowed, this proved a very unfortunate marriage. For after she had lived nine years with the duke her husband, he began, without the least foundation, to suspect her virtue; and was at last hurried away by all the transports of jealousy. Amidst the dreadful perturbations of passion, by which his soul was torn and agitated, he formed a desperate resolution, at once to put an end to his jealous pangs, and the life of her who gave occasion to them. Jealousy, that grand counterpoise to all the joys of love, is the most outrageous sort of madness; and when once it gets the ascendant in a mind, the voice of reason is no longer listened to. Impelled by the instigation of this fiend, the frantic and barbarous duke ordered the princess to be strangled; nay, some affirm, that he committed the horrid action with his own hand. The princess's innocence was afterwards made manifest; and, if we believe the writers of those times, was frequently attested by miraculous cures performed at her monument†.

1285.
Melancholy
story of prin-
cess Luitgar-
dis.

* Crantzius. † Idem.

1289.
Prince John
cast away.

NOT long after this unfortunate affair, Henry's younger brother, prince John, met with an untimely fate, being cast away in a storm on his passage from Wismar to Poel. The same fate attended his whole retinue, who were all drowned, except John Gube his game-keeper: this man's preservation was owing to two English hounds, which being fastened to his arm by a leather thong, swam to the opposite land, and dragged him safe on shore. This misfortune happened to prince John in his four-and-twentieth year. He was married to Helen, daughter of Witflaus, prince of Rugen, by whom he had a daughter named Luitgardis, abbess of Rhene*. The subsequent year was remarkable for two events of a contrary nature, but both of them productive of happiness to Mecklenburg; the first was the death of prince John, son of John of Gadebusch, an event which, in a great measure, put an end to the turbulent designs of that young prince's father. Finding himself now without issue, he thought it no longer worth while to sacrifice his quiet and ease to ambitious pursuits, in which he had always been defeated. The next event, but of the joyful kind, was the marriage of prince Henry to Beatrix, daughter of Albert, elector of Brandenburg, who brought him for dower the principality of Stargard. The nuptials were performed in the town of New Brandenburg. Henry did not take possession of this principality till 1302, when he was obliged to have recourse to arms, in order to assert his claim †.

Marriage of
Henry the
Lion.

1291.
Tragical
death of
Henry Senior.

HENRY'S attention was afterwards engaged by a tragical event, the murder of his cousin Henry Senior, of Mecklenburg Gustrow, born of Nicholas, the second son of Henry Burevinus II. This Henry Senior had two sons, Henry and Nicholas, both of them youths of very strong passions, and whom neither paternal exhortations nor menaces could keep within the bounds of discretion. Being now grown up to manhood, they were determined to be no longer controuled in their lawless pleasures, but to get rid of the only obstacle that

* According to the tables in the beginning of this work, this prince died in 1292, but here I have followed Chemnitz and Buckholtz.

† Crantzius, Chemnitz, Kirchberg, Latomus, Nettlebladt, Beehr.

stood in their way, by the barbarous and unnatural crime of parricide. With this design they watched their good father as he was returning from the chace, and dispatched him with their own hands, to the end that no third person might be witness to so atrocious a deed. They flattered themselves, either that this bloody action would escape notice, or be ascribed to a random shot from an arrow. But so horrid a crime Providence did not permit to remain unpunished. A cousin-german of the two parricides, whose name was Nicholas, and who was son of John the Pacific, being convinced in his own mind of the reality of their guilt, from a variety of circumstances, and from the profligate character of his cousins, resolved to revenge the death of his uncle. With this view he assembled a body of troops, and being joined by several who voluntarily engaged in the same cause, from a detestation of such unheard-of barbarity, invaded their territories, and possessed himself of Swaen, Lawe, Warne, with several other fortresses. The parricides made a very weak defence, being but indifferently supported by their subjects. During this contest, one of these unnatural sons died, when Henry the Lion thought this a favourable opportunity to recover part of those territories, which had been dismembered from the elder branch. But just at this juncture, a negotiation was set on foot at the town of Rostock, by the mediation of Wiflaus, prince of Rugen, and Bugislaus, duke of Stetin, whom Henry the Parricide (for that shall be the remaining brother's name) had persuaded into a belief of his innocence. After much debate, prince Nicholas refused to restore any part of the territories he had taken, which he said belonged to him as next heir, a parricide being unworthy of paternal inheritance. The dispute growing warm, without the least probability of coming to any agreement, prince Nicholas retired from thence by night, and arrived safe at Gustrow. Thither he was followed by the prince of Rugen, one of the mediators; but prince Nicholas, complaining of his partiality, caused him to be arrested. Henry the Lion perceiving that Nicholas aimed at the whole succession, resolved to assert his claim, and to oblige

History of
his sons the
parricides.

oblige him to do justice by force of arms. This, however, was in some measure a subject of uneasiness to him; as in waging war against prince Nicholas he seemed (which was far from his intention) to espouse the cause of Henry the Parricide. The two princes came to an engagement, which proved no way decisive, though Nicholas had the good fortune to gain the honour of the day. After the war had been carried on for some time with various success, a treaty was concluded between Henry the Lion and prince Nicholas; in pursuance of which they divided the principality of Gustrow between them. Henry the Parricide being stripped of his father's estate, met with the fate he deserved, of lingering out the remainder of his days in poverty and distress, an object of public scorn. Happily he left no offspring to suffer, though innocent, for the crimes of such a father *.

1291.
Affairs of the
empire.

THIS year died Rodolphus I. who, by means of the imperial dignity, laid the foundation of the Austrian grandeur. He was the first that introduced the use of the German tongue into public instruments, which used to be drawn up in Latin. Albert, his son, stood candidate for the imperial crown; but the electors, desirous of having a prince unable to controul them, chose Adolphus, count of Nassau, at the recommendation of his uncle the elector of Mentz, who expected to govern that young prince. The emperor, not chusing to depend on his uncle, the angry prelate set a conspiracy on foot to dethrone him. Adolphus was deposed, and the imperial dignity conferred on Albert of Austria, the son of Rodolphus. The deposed emperor, however, being supported by a strong party, assembled an army, and a battle was fought at Gelheim in 1298, where Adolphus fell by the hands of his rival. Upon the death of this prince, Albert I. of Austria was unanimously elected at Frankfort in 1298 †.

1298.

Melancholy
story of Ni-
cholas Lyn-
dowe.

MUCH about this time the citizens of Lubeck entered into an association with the princes of Mecklenburg, to extirpate the gangs of robbers, who, in those times of public calamity, in-

* Crantzius, Kirchberg, Chemnitz, Beehr.

† Barre, Pfeiffel, Heifs.

feſted the highways, and committed the moſt horrid outrages. In conſequence of this aſſociation, a detachment of troops was ſent againſt them under the command of an officer of Lubeck, named Nicholas Lyndowe. This officer being unacquainted with the lurking-places of thoſe banditti, found himſelf obliged to employ a guide, who was ſo baſe as to betray him to the enemy. The banditti having received intelligence of Lyndowe's march, lay in ambuſh for him upon the road, and falling upon his detachment, put every man to the ſword. The loſs of ſo many gallant ſoldiers ſhould be a leſſon to commanders, to act with the utmoſt circumſpection with regard to ſpies, in marching through an enemy's country *.

Soon after this miſfortune, happened an event of a very different nature, which filled the court of Mecklenburg with the greateſt joy, and ſtruck all Europe with amazement. This was the return † of Henry of Jeruſalem from the Eaſt, after a cap-

1301.
Henry of Je-
ruſalem re-
turns from
his captivity.

* Crantzius.

† The captivity and releaſement of Henry of Jeruſalem, are events atteſted beyond all doubt by hiſtorians of credit; but the circumſtances vary in different writers. We have given the account in the text from Crantzius, as the moſt probable; yet, for the ſake of the curious in thoſe matters, we ſhall here add another narrative of the ſame tranſaction, which, as the above-mentioned hiſtorian obſerves, is ſupported by good authority: magnis authoribus prodita.

It is ſuppoſed, that when Henry was taken priſoner near Jeruſalem, he concealed his rank and condition, leſt the infidels, through revenge and malice, ſhould murder him, or inſiſt upon an exorbitant ranſom, in caſe they ſpared his life. It is alſo likely he changed his name; and both thoſe circumſtances, though they might have ſaved his life, rendered it more difficult for him to recover his liberty. In this obſcurity he underwent many viciffitudes, condemned to hard labour, and often changing maſters, till, at length, he was ſold to a maſter at Grand Cairo. All this while his truſty ſervant Martin Bleyer ſtuck to him, and, by his ſkill in weaving cloth of gold, alleviated his diſtreſſes. Others ſay, they were ſent immediately to Grand Cairo, and there were preſented to the ſultan, in whoſe family they performed the moſt ſervile offices. In this condition they continued during the reign of two ſultans, when a third ſucceeded, who was a German Renegado, born at Gadebuſch, a miller's ſon, and who had been an engineer under Henry's father in Livonia; this man, after ſerving among the Tartars, roſe, at length, by a ſurprizing ſeries of revolutions, to be at the head of the Mamelukes. Dr. Heylin, who gives credit to this ſtory, makes this ſultan's name Araphus, or Euſtrephus, and ſuppoſes him to have been the ſame who took Ptolemais in 1291, and drove the Chriſtians quite out of Syria. Franck, a very cautious writer, thinks that this ſtory of the German ſultan is not improbable; as

Pocock,

His adventures.

tivity of six-and-twenty years. The hardships this prince underwent, during a most tedious servitude, were exceeding severe, and gave him an opportunity of displaying the utmost firmness and constancy of mind. In the midst of his misfortunes, he had a singular comfort in being attended by a faithful servant, named Martin Bleyer, who was taken prisoner at the same time with his master. This trusty domestic, finding no hopes of recovering his liberty, had learnt to weave both gold and silver tissue, by which he gained a comfortable subsistence, and contributed to the support of his sovereign. After they had lived in this manner a number of years, they began to be treated with more indulgence, as old captives habituated to their chains, and inured to servitude. This encouraged the faithful Martin to propose to his master a scheme for making their escape; which was accordingly embraced, and carried into execution. The money that Martin had saved, enabled them to supply themselves with necessaries by the way; and, after a variety of adventures, they landed safe in Italy.

Pocock, upon the authority of the Arabian historian Abul Pharagi relates, that at this time the Mamelukes were governed by a sultan named Al-Malec, Al-Manfu, or Aabul-Maali, who had been formerly a slave, and was purchased by his master Al-Saalenho, or Noi-Moddino, for a thousand florins: and this might have been the son of the miller of Gadebusch. This prince, by circumstances and enquiry, came to discover Henry's rank, and restored him to his liberty. Henry set sail from Egypt, (some by mistake say Ptolemais) but was taken prisoner by corsairs, and brought back to the sultan. The good sultan received him kindly, loaded him with presents, and sent him with a safe-conduct to Cyprus. There he found his aunt married to the king of that island, by whom he was kindly entertained; and setting sail from thence, he landed at Marfeilles, where he met with the kindest welcome from his sister. After he had made some stay in that city, he proceeded to Germany, and arriving at Henneberg, was treated in a most generous manner by his mother's relations. From Henneberg he was attended by the count of that name to Magdeburg, where the senate gave him an honourable reception. Thence he proceeded with a numerous retinue to his own country, but found it difficult at first to make himself known, being so greatly changed by length of time, and the hardships of his captivity. Besides, impostors had already personated him in his absence, but were discovered, and put to death. However, the deputies, Oertz and Strahlendorf, could not be deceived with regard to their old master, who had, moreover, some marks on his body, by which he was undoubtedly known to his beloved Anastasia. Crantz.

Henry

Henry had been so altered by years, hardships, and the disguise of his dress, that, upon his arrival at Rome, he with difficulty made himself known to Alexander, the secretary of the senate of Lubeck, who happened to be in that city, soliciting some affairs relative to his republic. Alexander was greatly affected at the prince's narrative, and informed him of the state and condition of his wife and family. He likewise conducted him in his way home as far as Lubeck, and defrayed the charges of his journey. At Lubeck, the prince was received with the greatest solemnity by the senate and clergy, in procession, the whole country flocking to see a prince whom they considered as risen from the dead. Having staid a few days in Lubeck, to refresh himself after his toilsome journey, he was conducted in great ceremony to his own dominions, where his family waited for him with the utmost impatience. The pleasure which all orders of people felt at this extraordinary event, may more easily be conceived than described: fame, by this time, had spread the tidings of their master's return, which made a vast concourse of spectators croud to see so joyful a sight. His children and his grand-children rushed eagerly to his embrace; and, fondly kissing his knees and hands, implored his blessing: his wife, his beloved Anastasia, after recovering from her first surprize, which had almost overpowered her, flew to his arms, strained him to her bosom, and poured out her soul to him in a thousand raptures. The good prince was scarce able to stand so moving a scene, but hung upon his Anastasia's neck, and expressed the tender transports of his heart by the silent eloquence of tears, more significant than the most emphatical words and powerful oratory*.

As soon as Henry had recovered himself from the fatigue of his long peregrination, he began to inquire into the state of public affairs, and was pleased to find, that by the prowess of his son Henry, the glory of the family of Mecklenburg was so greatly exalted. On the other hand, his satisfaction was allayed by the melancholy tale of his daughter Luitgardis, who had

Henry of
Jerusalem
undertakes
an expedi-
tion against
the robbers.

* Crantzius.

been barbarously murdered by her husband, as we have already related. It likewise gave him great concern, that the robberies on the highway were again revived, by a gang of banditti who were sheltered in the castle of Glafin, belonging to the family of Messhopeken. For notwithstanding that his son Henry had greatly distinguished himself in endeavouring to extirpate those robbers, yet his success was only a temporary expedient, while the neighbouring states afforded any shelter to such miscreants. The nests were sometimes taken, but the birds were always flown. This was one of the inconveniencies arising from the feudal law, to divide the state into several branches, which, being independent of each other, afforded a retreat to fugitives of every kind from the neighbouring principalities. Henry being determined to demolish this den of thieves, was seconded in the design by Albert, marquis of Brandenburg, whose daughter was married to his son, Henry the Lion. The two princes acted in conjunction, and laid siege to Glafin, which, after an obstinate resistance, was taken, and razed to the ground *.

The castle of
Glafin de-
molished.

He chastises
the town of
Wismar.

AFTER this success, Henry of Jerusalem thought proper to employ his troops on another expedition, before he put them into winter quarters. The city of Wismar had raised itself so suddenly by its industry and commerce, as to vie with most of the potent cities on the Baltic. Elated with this prosperity, the inhabitants, forgetting the duty they owed to their sovereign and benefactor, would fain throw off all subjection, and erect themselves into an independent republic. Being resolved to establish their new commonwealth on the ruins of Mecklenburg, they had lately demolished the castle, which was all that remained of that ancient city. Henry having invested the town of Wismar, the inhabitants were obliged to submit, and to return to their ancient allegiance. A treaty, however, was signed, by which they bound themselves on the one hand to rebuild the castle; and on the other, Henry granted them the privilege of being governed by the laws of Lubeck, with particular immunities.

* Crantzius.

This affair being settled, the prince of Mecklenburg dismissed his troops, and returned to his winter residence *.

DURING this transaction, a warm contest arose betwixt Albert, marquis of Brandenburg, and Nicholas Puer, prince of Rostock. Albert was offended that Nicholas had refused to espouse his daughter, after a promise of marriage, and had taken to his bed the daughter of Bugislaus IV. prince of Wolgast. This dispute shews how greatly the face of things was altered in that country within a few centuries. In former times, a marquis of Brandenburg advised the duke of Saxony not to marry his daughter to a prince of the Venedi, whom he stigmatized with an opprobrious epithet; and now a descendant of that prince has such a contempt for the marquis of Brandenburg, as to refuse espousing his daughter. The marquis's indignation rose to so high a pitch, that he had recourse to arms, in order to obtain satisfaction. Nicholas, not thinking himself able to contend with so powerful an enemy, had recourse to Eric VIII. king of Denmark, and put himself under his protection. Eric was glad of that opportunity to get footing on the coast of the Baltic, which had formerly paid homage to the crown of Denmark. A fleet was therefore ordered to put to sea with a number of Danish troops, who landed at Rostock, and marched directly against the enemy. After some skirmishes with the Brandenburgers, a negotiation was set on foot, which concluded in a treaty of peace, greatly to the prejudice of Nicholas. For it is true, that Albert of Brandenburg was obliged to withdraw his forces; but Nicholas, on the other hand, became a vassal to a powerful sovereign. Such was the consequence of calling in a foreign power to his aid, when he might have obtained sufficient succours from the princes of his own family. But he was deservedly surnamed the Boy, every part of his conduct favouring of puerility †.

1302.
Quarrel between Albert of Brandenburg and Nicholas Puer.

Nicholas becomes a vassal to Denmark.

THIS same year Henry II. tired of worldly grandeur, resigned his dominions to his eldest son, Henry the Lion, to spend the

Henry of Jerusalem resigns the government.

* Crantzius.

† Crantzius, Kirchberg, Marshal.

remainder of his days in peace, in the arms of his beloved Anastasia; and he died not long after in an advanced age, in 1308. We have already given an account of his wife and children. The history of this prince has so much of the marvellous in it, that many have looked upon it as fabulous; yet, excepting a few circumstances, it is supported by the most undoubted authority. A detail of his actions is the best panegyric that can be bestowed upon him, as they shew him to have encountered every danger, and to have foregone every pleasure, for the discharge of what, in those days, was considered as a very high act of religion. In short, his piety was sincere and unaffected, his courage undaunted, his charity extensive, his integrity unblemished. He died lamented by his family and by his subjects, who considered him as their common father.

C H A P. IX.

Henry the Lion succeeds his father in 1302. Engages with the king of Denmark in 1308, in the expedition to Sweden. Particulars of that expedition. The affairs of Sweden continued. The tragical history of the three royal brothers.

VI. HENRY the LION.

The sixth PRINCE of MECKLENBURG.

From 1302 to 1329.

EMPERORS of GERMANY,

A L B E R T I.	-	-	-	1298.
H E N R Y VII.	-	-	-	1308.
L E W I S V. of Bavaria,	-	-	-	1314.

KINGS of ENGLAND,

E D W A R D I.	-	-	1272.
E D W A R D II.	-	-	1307.
E D W A R D III.	-	-	1327.

1302.
Henry the
Lion suc-
ceeds his
father.

U P O N the resignation of Henry of Jerusalem, his only son Henry III. took possession of the government, according to the disposition of his father's will, and to the great joy of all

all his subjects. A prince who had given such early proofs of his courage, and other shining qualities, was likely to revive the lustre of the royal race of the Venedi. One of the first political steps of his reign was, a treaty of confraternity, concluded with his cousin Nicholas VI. of Werle (or succession) by which he secured the reversion of that principality, in failure of issue male in the line of Werle, to the elder branch of Mecklenburg. By virtue of that treaty, the lords of Werle were also intitled to a kind of homage from Henry's subjects.

1302.
Act of confraternity
with the
princes of
Werle.

THAT affair had been scarce settled, when Henry's attention was engaged by another transaction of equal importance; this was the dowry of his wife Beatrix, daughter of Albert, margrave of Brandenburg, with whom he was to have the principality of Stargard. It seems that Henry had always considered this territory as of right belonging to his family, his ancestors having been dispossessed thereof by Albert the Bear. If this country had been considered merely as a dower, it ought to have fallen to Matilda, his only child by Beatrix of Brandenburg, who was married to Otho, duke of Luneburg; but this did not take place, and Henry kept it for himself and the male issue of his family. However, he did not get into possession of it till 1302, and after the death of his father-in-law. The other margraves or princes of the house of Brandenburg were so greatly dissatisfied with this measure, that a war ensued between them and Henry, in which the latter had the advantage. I do not find the particulars of this war, yet it appears, that a peace was concluded the next year; and the margraves gave up their right and pretensions to the principality of Stargard to Henry the Lion for five thousand marks of silver.

1303.
War with
Brandenburg.

THE year following, Henry's conduct in the Bohemian war, confirmed the high opinion the public had entertained of his valour, by which he had already acquired the surname of Lion. The occasion of this expedition was as follows: Wenceslaus IV. king of Bohemia, happening to die in 1305, was succeeded by his son Wenceslaus the Younger. This prince so alienated the affections of his subjects, by the irregularity of his conduct, that

1304.

1305.

that he was assassinated by his own subjects. As he died without issue, the states of Bohemia conferred the crown on Henry, duke of Carinthia, who had married the eldest sister of the late king. But the emperor, Albert of Austria, raised a strong army, in order to place the crown on the head of his son Rudolphus, in virtue of a family compact. The margrave of Brandenburg taking the side of the Bohemians in this war, was joined by the prince of Mecklenburg, with whom he had lately concluded a treaty of alliance. With regard to the particulars of this campaign we are much in the dark; only we are informed, that on a certain occasion, the alarm being spread in the army of the allies that the emperor was approaching, the confederate princes all fled, except Henry the Lion, who intrepidly waited the attack, and disdained to turn his back to the enemy. His unconcernedness on this occasion, is attributed by some to his being an independent prince, who had no such occasion to be afraid of being taken prisoner by the emperor's troops, as the margrave and other princes of the allied army, who had yielded homage to Albert, as head of the empire. However, Henry of Carinthia being overpowered by Albert, was obliged to make way for Rudolphus, the emperor's son, who espoused queen Elizabeth, the widow of Wenceslaus. But Rudolphus dying the same year, Henry of Carinthia took possession of the crown of Bohemia*.

1307.
War between
Lubeck and
Holstein.

Not long after the Bohemian expedition, Henry's thoughts were diverted a while from martial affairs, by a proposal of marriage with the princess Anne, sister of Rudolph, duke of Saxony, of the house of Anhalt. His first wife, Beatrix of Brandenburg, died the preceding year, 1306, and he had only one daughter by her, named Matilda. He was therefore easily persuaded to espouse a second wife, in hopes of continuing the elder branch of the family. The accomplishments of the Saxon princess prompted him to solicit an alliance with that illustrious house; and the consent of all parties being readily obtained, the treaty of marriage was concluded. To increase the fo-

* Crantzius, Kirchberg, Chemnitz, Beehr, Buckholtz, Pfeffel, Heis.

lemnity,

lemnity, Henry proposed celebrating the nuptials in Wismar, a city of great trade and opulence, and the most populous of all his dominions. The princess he received on the frontiers of Saxony; and from thence, attended by a grand retinue, the new married couple set out for Wismar. But how great was his surprize to find the gates barricaded, and admittance refused both to him and his retinue. Such an indignity from his own subjects could not but rouse our Lion, who considered it as an act of rebellion, tending to damp the diversions of his happy nuptials. He had had already some quarrels with this town; and his father, as we have already mentioned, had chastised it for its insolence soon after his return from Jerusalem. Henry the Lion was displeased with the many privileges it had obtained, in virtue of which the inhabitants pretended, the prince's castle or ordinary residence should be built without the walls of the city. Indeed most of the maritime towns on the Baltic, as well as Wismar, had been favoured by their princes with various privileges and immunities, tending chiefly to the security and increase of their commerce. These towns, entering into the Anseatic alliance, had increased their power and interest to such a degree, as to affect a state of independence. But to return to the present case: the inhabitants of Wismar had no other reason for shutting their gates against their sovereign, than that they were apprehensive lest so numerous a retinue should endanger their liberties. Henry, not satisfied with this excuse, was preparing to lay siege to the city, when the affair for that time was compromised; the inhabitants purchased the old castle out of the town, and assigned a spot within the walls for building a new palace, and the prince was to have free ingress and egress for himself and his retinue. But this agreement, as we shall hereafter see, was of no long continuance.

THIS same year was Henry involved, as an auxiliary, in a war with the city of Lubeck, occasioned by the civil disturbances between Gerard, count of Holstein, and the nobility of that province. The latter were defeated in a pitched battle, and their leader, named Pelos, was taken prisoner, and put to death.

death. The fugitive nobles having taken shelter in Lubeck, the count resolved to turn his arms against that city, in order to obtain satisfaction for this public affront. As the overgrown power of the Hanse towns gave umbrage in general to all the northern monarchs, so that of Lubeck, especially, was a thorn in the side of the neighbouring princes. Hence arose such frequent quarrels and wars, which were not, however, of long continuance, as they only proved destructive to the belligerent parties, which stood in need of each others assistance. The count being sensible that the most effectual method to punish a trading town, was to interrupt its commerce, began with building a fort which commanded the navigation of the river Trave. The magistrates of Lubeck had recourse to Eric, king of Denmark, and to the duke of Saxony, imploring their assistance; and at the same time made all the preparations in their power for a vigorous defence. Count Gerard, on the other hand, applied to Henry the Lion, and to the rest of his allies, from whom he received a considerable reinforcement. The Danish succours were commanded by Waldemar, duke of Sleswick, who joined the Lubeckers. Count Gerard encamped near the river Suatlow, a station that enabled him to annoy the city, and to support the garrison of the fort he had erected at the mouth of the river. But before any decisive action on either side ensued, the dispute was compromised by the mediation of the prince of Mecklenburg, on condition that the count should continue in possession of the new fort the space of four years, after which the property thereof should be submitted to the emperor's decision. In consequence of this treaty, the count and the nobility of Holstein were reconciled; and it was agreed, that all future differences should be referred to the determination of Henry the Lion, in conjunction with the king of Denmark; and that, on passing sentence, they should be directed by the laws and customs of Holstein*.

* Huitfeld. Hist. Den. tom. 3.

THIS treaty not only reflected great honour on the prince of Mecklenburg, but produced a connection of the greatest intimacy between him and Eric, king of Denmark, which engaged the former soon after to accompany the latter in his expedition to Sweden. The intent of this expedition, on Eric's side, was to restore his brother-in-law Birger II. to the throne, from which he had been cast by his rebellious brothers. Henry's view was to improve the reputation he had already acquired by arms, and to lead his gallant troops to farther achievements. But as the civil war which broke out at this time in Sweden, was productive of consequences in which the princes of Mecklenburg were particularly concerned, and by which they made a considerable figure in the history of that nation, we shall explain this affair at large, and trace the divisions of that kingdom up to their very source.

1308.
Henry the
Lion under-
takes an ex-
pedition to
Sweden.

IN the year 1290 died Magnus Ladislas, king of Sweden, one of the greatest princes that had ever wielded that sceptre. He left three sons, Birger, the second of that name, Eric, and Waldemar. Birger the eldest, who succeeded him, being but eleven years old; he had appointed Torckel Cnutson, the great marshal of the crown, for his governor. The minority lasted thirteen years, during which the marshal Cnutson, administered the realm with glory and reputation. As soon as the king was out of his minority, viz. in 1292, he espoused Meretta, the daughter of Eric VII. king of Denmark, and sister of Eric the VIII. In 1298, he declared his son Magnus, then only three years old, his successor to the crown; a declaration confirmed in 1303 by the chief nobility of the kingdom, and particularly by his two brothers, the dukes Eric and Waldemar. Their father Magnus, though in other respects a very wise prince, had acted imprudently by investing those princes with separate governments, independent of the elder brother. This was the same mistake as that committed by Waldemar, king of Denmark, and produced the same fatal consequences. For the lust of power is the same in all ages and countries, and has no respect to persons, or ties of consanguinity. Eric mar-

Troubles in
Sweden.

ried Ingeburga, the daughter of Haquin, king of Norway; and duke Waldemar, his brother, espoused the daughter of the marshal Cnutson. The king and his brothers did not long agree; the latter complained of his encroaching on their privileges, and not suffering them to live unmolested in their respective governments. The people seemed to pay attention to those complaints, and expressed a general dissatisfaction at the measures of the court, which were subversive of liberty.

Government
of Sweden.

SWEDEN, at that time, was an elective monarchy: though the near relations of the late sovereign were usually raised to the throne, yet the succession was always settled by choice, and the claims of birthright were sometimes superseded. Hence the Swedes, upon occasion, asserted the privilege of deposing their kings, when the latter encroached upon the liberties of the people. The king could neither make war nor peace, raise money nor soldiers, erect new forts, employ foreign officers, or introduce foreign troops, without the consent of the senate, or the estates of the kingdom. The senate was usually composed of twelve lords, who were the principal officers of state, and constantly attended the king at Stockholm. Their dignity was not hereditary, but they were nominated by the sovereign; yet the supreme power and majesty of the state were properly lodged in that body. The king's revenue was reduced to some inconsiderable demesnes near Upsal, and a poll-tax on the peasants; the remainder of it had been usurped at different times by the clergy and nobility. The clergy were possessed of immense riches, in consequence of which they behaved with great arrogance, and sometimes affected an independency on the crown. Both they and the nobility had fortified castles, and a numerous train of vassals, who paid an implicit obedience to their commands. But some of the peasants held immediately of the crown, sent deputies to the diets, and were strenuous asserters of their liberties. The state was frequently involved in all the confusion of civil discord, by the clashing of the various orders of which it was composed. The generality of the Swedish kings aiming at absolute power, were opposed by the nobility and the people,

who were to the last degree jealous of any attempts to subvert the liberties and privileges of the nation *.

THE arbitrary conduct of king Birger created a general discontent, which was heightened by his oppressive treatment of his own brothers. It seems those two princes had intelligence of the king's design of securing their persons, when they thought proper to withdraw to Denmark, and from thence to Norway, where they solicited the assistance of king Haquin, to recover their estates, which had been seized by their unnatural brother. Haquin, till he could more effectually contribute to their relief, gave them possession of two frontier towns, from whence they made incursions into eastern Gothland, where they dispersed the Swedish troops that were sent to oppose them. The king hearing of this disaster, marched in person into that province, and found his brothers at the head of some troops, with which they had been supplied by the king of Norway. The two armies were just ready to engage, when an accommodation was effected by means of certain senators: the king received his brothers into favour, and restored them to their estates. This agreement cost Torckel Cnutson his life. The three brothers, ashamed of their divisions, laid the whole blame thereof upon the venerable old man, who, though innocent of the charge, was beheaded on a public scaffold. Such was the reward those unnatural brothers gave their aged governor for all his faithful services. But ingratitude is surely the most unpardonable of all vices in princes, since they have it always in their power to make some sort of return to acts of fidelity. Yet the blood of this aged nobleman did not cement the friendship of the three brothers; on the contrary, their jealousy was farther inflamed. Birger wanted to make his brothers absolutely dependent on his will; and they, on the other hand, were so provoked thereat, as to attempt the dethroning of their sovereign. They succeeded in their undertaking: having the good fortune to surprize the king and queen in the palace of Hatuna, they compelled him to abdicate the crown in favour of duke Eric.

The Swedes
dissatisfied
with the ar-
bitrary con-
duct of king
Birger.

1305.

Birger de-
throned by
his brothers.

* Vertot, Puffendorff.

The king was kept a close prisoner, but one of his domestics escaped to Denmark with the young prince Magnus, his eldest son.

1305.
Eric, king
of Denmark,
restores him
to the crown.

1306.

1307.

ERIC, king of Denmark, being greatly concerned at the misfortune that had befallen his sister and his brother-in-law, the king of Sweden, raised an army to replace them on the throne. He marched to the frontiers of West Gothland, where he was met by duke Eric and his brother Waldemar. The two armies encamped within sight of each other for some days; and, at length, a truce was settled for one year by king Eric and the Swedish princes, during which time they were to treat of setting the king at liberty. But this was only an artifice on the part of the princes, who, knowing the king of Denmark's easy disposition, wanted only a pretext to prevent him from entering upon action. Eric, finding himself disappointed in his expectations, undertook a second expedition, which, for want of vigour and resolution on his side, met with the same ill success as the first; for he suffered himself to be amused by a negotiation. This proving ineffectual, he marched the next year into West Gothland with a numerous army, and laid waste the whole country with fire and sword. The Swedish princes drew out their forces to meet him; and the two armies were ready to engage, when, upon the interposition of some of the principal lords of both nations, a cessation of arms was agreed to, and the preliminaries to a peace adjusted. These were, that the king and queen, together with their children, should be set at liberty; and that the difference between the king and his brothers should be settled in an amicable manner, within a year and a half, by the states of the kingdom. Accordingly, the states assembled at Arboga, where they came to a resolution, that king Birger, upon forgiving his brothers, and accepting of such a part of his dominions as should be assigned to him, should be set at liberty. This was actually executed; the king was released from his confinement, and the senate, with the two princes, renewed their oath of allegiance to the Swedish monarch.

THE

THE first use that Birger made of his liberty, was to attempt the recovery of those provinces, of which he had been stripped by the states at Arboga. With this view he made a tour to West Gothland, and from thence went over to Denmark, to visit his brother-in-law king Eric. This prince received him with great affection, and promised to assist him effectually in repossessing himself of his dominions. With these assurances Birger returned to Sweden, where he was pleased to find, that a difference had lately arisen between Haquin, king of Norway, and duke Eric of Sweden, about the restitution of the castles, Kongel and Warberg, of which the latter kept forcible possession, though they had been only committed to him in trust, at the time of his exile in Norway. The king of Denmark availed himself of this opportunity, to prevail with king Haquin to break off all correspondence with duke Eric, and to marry his daughter, the princess Ingeburga, to prince Magnus, the son of king Birger, though she had been promised to duke Eric. This was not difficult to effect, as Haquin was greatly provoked at duke Eric's ingratitude, so as to think him unworthy of his alliance.

1308.
King Birger
endeavours
to recover his
lost power.

THE king of Denmark having concluded a convention with Haquin, resolved now to exert his utmost power towards restoring his brother-in-law to all his dominions. For this purpose he also signed a subsidiary treaty with Henry, prince of Mecklenburg, of whose military abilities he had conceived the highest opinion. Henry supplied him chiefly with a body of German horse under his own command, and was joined by some other princes, who readily engaged in the same expedition. The whole army amounted to sixty thousand men, commanded by the king in person, with the chief nobility of the kingdom. Birger joined king Eric with a body of Swedish troops, not in the least doubting but so formidable an army, under such expert commanders, would soon be able to drive the two dukes out of Sweden. Thus did ambition divest those brothers of all natural affection, and give rise to the introducing of a foreign force, to their mutual destruction. As soon as
king

1308.
Henry the
Lion acts as
auxiliary in
Sweden to
the king of
Denmark.

king Eric entered West Gothland, the two dukes collected their forces, and advanced towards Holewehd; but not thinking themselves able to venture a battle, they confined their operations to distressing the royal armies, and cutting off their convoys and forage. The two kings, however, laid siege to Jenekoping, which was obliged to surrender; and, after they had garrisoned that town, they penetrated through the woods, as far as East Gothland. The Swedish princes were obliged to quit the field; duke Eric retired to Calmar, and Waldemar, his brother, to Stockholm, in order to cover the province of Upland.

Ill conduct of
the king of
Denmark.

DURING these operations, the king of Norway laid siege to Kongel, and made himself master of that important post. So many losses, added to the mighty power of the confederate kings, seemed to portend destruction to the two dukes, when the obstinacy of the king of Denmark, in carrying on the siege of a little town, contributed to their preservation. Thus does fortune, or rather providence, very often baffle the projects of the great, by causes that seem too trifling to produce such important effects.

NIKOPPING is a small town of Sudermania, a province of the kingdom of Sweden, situated near the Baltic. The two kings sat down before this town, determined to make themselves masters of it before they proceeded farther with their army. The town was defended by a strong garrison, which made a vigorous resistance. This only increased king Eric's ardour to surmount the difficulty of the attempt, and to make himself master of the place at all events. The Danish nobility represented to him the ill consequence of losing so much time about an insignificant town, when the troops, which were now almost disheartened, might be employed elsewhere to greater advantage. The season being far advanced, they solicited him to retire before the frost set in, which would endanger the loss of his whole army. They farther observed, that since he was not able to take a place of so little strength as Nikopping, there seemed to be not the least probability of his making himself
master

master of Calmar and Stockholm, where the dukes commanded in person; they added, that there was a great scarcity of provisions and forage, since the country had been ravaged; and that of consequence, if the troops were to separate, they would run the risk of being cut off by the enemy; and if they kept together in a body, they would inevitably perish with hunger.

BUT neither these nor any other arguments that might have been offered, could in the least affect the king of Denmark. Ashamed of being baffled by a little town, he persisted in his resolution of surmounting every difficulty that could possibly obstruct the reduction of the place. But the Danish nobility, less steady than their monarch, took a step which reflected great dishonour on that body, and for which they will be detested by posterity. Finding the king inflexible, they resolved to leave him to his fate, to conduct the siege by himself as well as he could; but for their part they said they would return to Denmark. The desertion of almost all the gentry and nobility who had accompanied this prince, must have been a terrible mortification to him, and shews the independence of the great lords in those days, as well as the want of strict discipline, which must ever be the case in feudal governments. In this situation of distress, deserted by his subjects and his friends, the king's person would have been in the utmost danger, had not he been generously supported by Henry the Lion. This gallant prince, disdaining to follow the dastardly example of the Danish nobles, stuck close to the deserted monarch, with the German cavalry, and shewed himself in this critical juncture, deserving of that confidence which the king had reposed in his skill and fidelity *.

The siege of
Nikopping
raised.

Gallant be-
haviour of
the cavalry
under Henry
the Lion.

IN the mean time, duke Eric had retaken Jenekoping, and came and encamped not far from Axelwald in West Gothland, where he was in hopes, either of defeating or harassing the king of Denmark in his retreat. He was sensible that this prince could not winter in Sweden; or that if he attempted it, he would find it difficult to prevail on his troops to stay with him.

Peace con-
cluded be-
tween king
Birger and
his brothers.

* Puffendorff.

Upon

Upon the approach of the Danish nobility, the duke drew off his army, and suffered them to pass unmolested through Smaland, in their way to Denmark. When the king was obliged, at length, by the severity of the weather, to take the same rout, duke Eric came up with him on the frontiers of West Gothland, and instead of fighting, from which he was deterred by the gallant appearance of the German cavalry under Henry the Lion, he proposed a conference with the king of Denmark. That monarch accepted of the proposal; and, in consequence thereof, another interview was appointed at Helsingburg, at which the three brothers, the king of Denmark, and Henry the Lion, assisted. The two dukes expressed a sincere desire of being reconciled to king Birger, and putting an end to all hostilities. They begged that king Eric would persuade their brother to entertain pacific sentiments, and to consent to live in peace, since experience might convince him of the impossibility of succeeding by violent measures. These considerations had their due effect, a reconciliation ensued, and the treaty of Arboga, concluded two years before, was renewed; whereby duke Eric was to have for his share, the provinces of West Gothland, Dalecarlia, Halland, and Warmland; duke Waldemar was to keep possession of the province of Upland, with the isle of Oeland, and part of Finland; and Birger was to have the remainder of the kingdom. But the dukes were to do homage to the king their brother, and to hold their governments as fiefs of the crown. Thus ended a civil war, which had been kindled by the ambition of three unnatural brothers, contending for empire, and had been productive of ruin and desolation to the kingdom of Sweden. The treaty being signed, king Eric returned to Denmark, attended by Henry the Lion, to whom he was indebted for his preservation. Henry having made some short stay, to refresh himself, in Denmark, brought home his troops, with more honour than advantage to his family and country, after a long, fatiguing, and hazardous expedition*.

* Puffendorff, Vertot, Pontan, Loccen.

IN Sweden all animosities appeared to be pretty well allayed by the treaty of Helsingburg. The dukes were soon after reconciled to Haquin, king of Norway, whose daughter Eric obtained in marriage, notwithstanding the promise her father had made, of bestowing that princess on Magnus, the son of king Birger. Duke Waldemar also espoused the niece of king Haquin, and both princesses bore the name of Ingeburga. The three brothers now kept separate courts, and vied with each other in splendor and magnificence. To maintain this pageantry, they were obliged to load the people with heavy taxes, which occasioned some disturbances in the country. These were, however, soon appeased; and the princes altering their conduct, and shewing more regard to the necessities of the poor, a tranquility ensued, which lasted some years. The dukes had now all the reason in the world to imagine, that their brother's indignation had perfectly subsided; and that time, which brings all things to bear, must surely have produced a sincere reconciliation. But, in order to sound the king's disposition, duke Waldemar thought proper to pay a visit to his majesty at Nikopping, which was in his way from Calmar to Stockholm. The king received him in a most kind and obliging manner; and, at parting, begged he would bring his brother Eric with him as he returned, to the end that they might have a friendly meeting, and banish all suspicions and distrusts, which had so long caused bad blood in the family. But these specious declarations were mere artifice; the king harboured malice and resentment in his heart, was bent upon revenge, and thirsted after the blood of his unfortunate brothers.

Seeming reconciliation between the brothers.

1310.

1317.

By these fine speeches Birger imposed upon Waldemar, who, judging of the king's sincerity by his own, persuaded his brother Eric to accompany him to Nikopping, notwithstanding the great repugnance he had to the journey. As soon as the two brothers alighted at the palace, the king came out to embrace them with all seeming tenderness, and gave such testimonies of satisfaction, that nobody entertained the least doubt of his sincerity. The evening was concluded with public rejoicings,

Birger imprisons his two brothers by treachery.

ings, and a magnificent entertainment, at which the dukes indulged themselves in drinking freely of generous wines. When it was time to retire, their retinue was sent to the neighbouring inns, under pretence that there was no possibility of accommodating them in the palace. The princes remained with their pages and valet de chambres, and were conducted to their apartment. But, in the dead of the night, when they were fast asleep, the king burst open their chamber-door, and ordered them both to be seized in bed. Duke Eric attempted to put himself into a posture of defence, but was soon overpowered, and received several wounds. Birger was present at this scene of violence, and asked them, with an insulting sneer, whether they remembered the trick they had played him at Hatuna. He added further, that he would serve them much in the same manner. Upon which he ordered them to be stripped half-naked, loaded with irons, and confined to a strong tower. All their domestics, who lodged in the town, were either imprisoned or inhumanly massacred.

The two
princes are
starved to
death by the
king's order.

AFTER so base an action, the king hurried away, with the utmost expedition to Stockholm, in hopes of surprizing that city; but the inhabitants had timely notice of the barbarity with which he had treated his brothers. As soon as he appeared before the gates, the burghers and the garrison sallied out, and falling upon him and his retinue, put them to flight, and pursued them as far as Nikopping. The king, perceiving that they intended to besiege that town, retired to Steckeburg; but took care, before his departure, to cause the gates of the tower where his brothers were imprisoned, to be strongly barricaded, and then threw the keys into the river, forbidding any one, upon pain of death, to open the prison till he returned. No sooner was he departed, than the garrison of Stockholm, strengthened by troops from other parts, came and invested Nikopping; but the dukes were no more; the king had ordered them to be starved to death. Their bodies were exposed before the tower, to the end that the people might cease to espouse their interests. This however was productive of a contrary effect;

effect; the whole kingdom was incensed at so horrid and unnatural a crime, and broke out into a general revolt. To quell these insurrections, the king sent for his unfortunate son Magnus, who was then in Denmark, from whence he brought over to his assistance a body of Danish horse, which was given him by his uncle king Eric. With this reinforcement he made some stand, till, at length, he was over-powered by numbers, part of his troops being surprized at Sunderkoping, and the Danish cavalry obliged to retire from Nikopping. Thus, destitute of resource, he abandoned himself to his ill fate, and fled to the isle of Gothland, but left his son Magnus to command the castle of Steckeburg.

The Swedes revolt, and oblige king Birger to fly the country.

THE Swedes immediately invested the place, and took it by famine; the garrison were made prisoners of war, and prince Magnus was confined to the castle of Stockholm. The senate assembled in this city, and declared Matthias Kettelmundson regent of the kingdom. This nobleman pursued the remainder of king Birger's party with great vigour, and Birger himself was constrained to retire to Denmark. There he met with a very cold reception from king Christopher, who had lately succeeded his brother Eric VIII. The reason of this coolness, was said to be the ill behaviour of his sister queen Merette, who had never shewn him any favour or good-will, even in the time of her prosperity. However, king Christopher, out of compassion to his brother-in-law, gave him leave to reside in the castle of Spickaburg. No sooner was Birger retired from the isle of Gothland, than the states of the kingdom were convened at Upsal by Matthias Kettlemundson, when they proceeded to the election of a new king. The choice fell upon Magnus, an infant only three years old, the son of duke Eric, that had been lately starved by Birger. This young prince, soon after his election, succeeded to the crown of Norway, upon the death of Haquin his grandfather, by the mother's side, without male issue. The ensuing year, the states of the kingdom assembled at Stockholm, to determine the fate of prince Magnus, the son of king Birger.

Birger dethroned, and his son Magnus put to death.

1318.

1319.

1320.

There cannot be a stronger instance of the hatred of a whole nation to a bad prince, than that which appeared in the debates of the assembly. Birger was so universally detested, that they resolved to punish his son for the iniquities of the father; and although, by the capitulation of Steckenburg, they had promised to save his life; and, some years before, had chosen him to succeed his father as their king, they now condemned him to an ignominious death, and he was publicly beheaded. A most cruel and unjust sentence! to deprive a prince of life for crimes in which he was no way concerned, and which he himself, from his virtuous disposition, could not help condemning as much as any of his judges. Yet even this injustice is an admonition to princes, to beware of such arbitrary and illegal proceedings, as must surely expose them to public hatred, and entail a series of calamities on their innocent posterity. By the severity of this sentence, the intention of the Swedes was, doubtless, to punish king Birger by the loss of an only son, for whom he had a most tender affection. And, accordingly, they succeeded in their aim; for the melancholy tidings made so deep an impression, both on the king and queen, that they died in a very short time, overwhelmed with grief and sorrow*.

SUCH was the unhappy catastrophe of those three brothers; their lives were a constant source of distraction and misery, both to themselves, and to the people subject to their command, and all in consequence of their own inordinate ambition. This it was that produced such dissensions, and spread such desolation over the kingdom. But their father was originally in fault, who had partitioned his dominions among his sons, and made them all independent in the same state or government. This was setting a kingdom against itself; and experience, as well as the nature of human passions, shews, that a kingdom so divided can have no stability. So much for the disturbances of Sweden; we shall only observe farther, that the young prince, on whom

* Crantzius, Kirchberg, Ruffe fragment. Ditmars. Peterfen Chron. Holst. Pontan, Huitfeld, Puffendorff, Alard de reb. Nordalb. Loccen. Bacmeister, Beehr, Kluver.

the states conferred the crown in 1319, was surnamed Smeck; a prince whose bad conduct afterwards paved the way for the elevation of the house of Mecklenburg, to the throne of Sweden. We shall now resume the affairs of prince Henry the Lion.

C H A P. X.

Henry the Lion is refused admittance by the inhabitants of Wismar.

He lays siege to that town, which is obliged to submit. The city of Rostock, behaving in the same manner to Eric, king of Denmark, meets with the same fate. State of the empire. Melancholy story of a peasant in the neighbourhood of Luneburg. War betwixt Henry the Lion and the marquis of Brandenburg, relative to the territory of Stargard. A peace concluded to Henry's satisfaction. War between Denmark and Brandenburg. Peace mediated by Henry the Lion. Death of Waldemar of Brandenburg. War between Lewis the Ancient and Henry the Lion, with regard to Stargard. The battle of Granzoi. Peace to Henry's advantage. Rostock ceded to Henry by Denmark. Interview between Henry and the Danish monarch. Death of Henry the Lion in 1329. His issue.

HENRY was not long returned from Sweden, when he agreed to a proposal of marriage between his only daughter Matilda, by his first wife Beatrix of Brandenburg, and Otho, duke of Luneburg, son of Otho the Severe, who died in 1330. On this occasion, the prince of Mecklenburg was willing, once more, to make trial of the behaviour of the inhabitants of Wismar, and therefore ordered the nuptials of his daughter to be celebrated in that city.

BUT the fears and jealousies of those citizens had not yet subsided, or rather, they were grown more insolent by the great increase of their commerce, and in consequence of their numerous alliances. For the maritime towns of the Baltic had now erected themselves, as it were, into one great republic, and determined to support each other in the defence of their privileges, against any encroachments from their ancient sovereigns. So strong

1310.
Marriage of
Henry the
Lion's daughter.

Henry is
affronted by
the city of
Wismar.

strong a confederacy emboldened the citizens of Wismar once more to refuse admittance to Henry the Lion, and to treat him with the same insolence as they had done before, on the occasion of his own nuptials with his second wife Anne of Saxony.

And the king
of Denmark
by the city of
Rostock.

1310.

ANIMATED by this same spirit of independence, the inhabitants of Rostock had lately refused admittance to Eric VIII. king of Denmark, when he came to celebrate rejoicings in that city, for the peace concluded, after an obstinate war with the marquis of Brandenburg. Notwithstanding the sovereignty of that town had been made over to king Eric by Nicholas Puer, and his authority acknowledged by the inhabitants, still they refused, on the above-mentioned occasion, to admit either him or the marquis of Brandenburg within their walls, for fear of being stripped of their liberties. The king was so prudent as to overlook the affront at that time, and pretending a tenderness for the inhabitants, as if he did not chuse to encumber them with such a concourse of strangers, he ordered tents to be pitched in the neighbourhood, in a place called the Rosen-garten, where he exhibited a most magnificent tournament. But though he dissembled on that occasion, he was determined to chastise the insolence of those citizens, as soon as a proper opportunity offered *.

1311.
Henry lays
siege to Wis-
mar.

THE prince of Mecklenburg had been acquainted with the behaviour of the town of Rostock to king Eric, which induced him to apply to that prince, desiring a junction of forces, in order to make it a common cause, and to wreak their vengeance on the two rebellious cities. Eric accepted the offer, and equipped a fleet, which immediately sailed to the coast of Lower Saxony, and blocked up the harbour of Wismar. The neighbouring towns, and particularly Rostock †, considering this case as their own; and that they must necessarily be involved in the ruin of Wismar, fitted out a strong squa-

* Crantzius, Kirchberg, Latomus, Chemnitz, Beehr, Buckholtz.

† The people of Rostock said they were obliged to send assistance to the inhabitants of Wismar, in consequence of the Anseatic union, into which both cities, it seems, had entered by their own authority.

dron,

dron, which engaged the Danish fleet in several encounters, and with various success. Henry the Lion in the mean time carried on the siege by land, and erected different forts at certain distances, from which he greatly annoyed the town. But finding the siege likely to continue a considerable time, from the strength of the place, and obstinacy of the inhabitants, he had recourse to artifice, to draw them out of their strong hold, and force them to an engagement. He directed a small body of men to advance towards the town, in order to entice the enemy, by the smallness of their number, to come out and attack them; in case the bait took, they were to retire gradually, till they reached the next post, where they should be supported by a strong body of troops. The stratagem succeeded; the townspeople seeing but a handful of men just under the walls, sallied out with great fury; the prince's troops maintained a kind of a running fight, which tempted the ignorant inhabitants to come out in greater crouds, all impatient to share in the victory; they pressed on without any order or discipline, till they fell into the ambuscade; and were most of them either taken prisoners, or cut in pieces*.

So signal a defeat struck a terror into the remainder of the inhabitants of Wismar. Their numbers were considerably reduced by the sword, and by sickness; and they found themselves greatly distressed for provisions. In this terrible dilemma they had recourse to Waldemar, duke of Sleswick, and Nicholas, prince of Werle, who offered their mediation, which was accepted, and a capitulation signed in the following terms: The senate and the principal citizens should make oath, that the motive of their shutting the gates, was not to affront prince Henry, their sovereign, but to preserve the town from any surprize, or falling into the hands of an enemy: that whatever pledges, or deposits, belonging to the said prince, were remaining then in their hands, should be delivered up and restored, without paying any money for their redemption: that whatever debts the prince owed to any of the citizens, should be made

The town is obliged to submit.

* Crantzius, Kirchberg, Buckholtz.

good by the senate ; that the keys of the town, towards Mecklenburg, should be in the possession of the prince, to the end that he might have free ingress and egress whenever he pleased ; that the prince's court of justice, which had been pulled down, should be rebuilt at the expence of the inhabitants ; but this last article was afterwards disputed, under a pretence of its not being included in the capitulation ; so that the prince erected that structure again at his own expence. In every other respect he had a complete triumph over factious citizens, whom opulence and luxury had intoxicated to such a degree, that they presumed to insult, and even wage war with so powerful and martial a prince, as Henry the Lion*.

1312.
The siege of
Rostock.

BUT as it was the proud behaviour of Rostock, that had emboldened Wismar to bid defiance to her sovereign, so the humiliation of Wismar encouraged king Eric to chastise the insolence of his subjects. He began with appointing Henry the Lion governor of Rostock, with strict orders to the magistrates of that city, to obey that prince as his lieutenant, and deputy, to open their gates to him whenever he demanded admittance, under pain of incurring his royal displeasure, and being treated as rebels. But this menace was treated with contempt ; the citizens, confiding in their own strength, and in the alliance they had concluded with the rest of the Hanse towns, resolved to shake off the Danish yoke, and to erect themselves into an independent state. The king incensed at their repeating their former insolence, and assisting the rebellious inhabitants of Wismar, determined to humble their pride, and to assert his sovereignty.

THE city of Rostock being strongly fortified, and defended by a numerous body of inhabitants, trained to war, and extremely fond of liberty, the king thought it prudent to desire the assistance of Waldemar, marquis of Brandenburg, and of the other princes, who had been present at the affront he had received from those obstinate citizens. The marquis readily espoused the king of Denmark's cause, and joining his forces with those of Henry the Lion, and the other princes, in-

* Crantzius, Kirchberg, Latomus, Bacmeister, Nettlebladt.

vested the town by land, while it was blocked up by the Danish fleet on the side of the gulph, or mouth of the Warnow. Here king Eric sunk some ships, laid booms a-cross, and erected works on each side of the river; but the season being now far advanced, after leaving a slender garrison to guard those works, he sailed back to Denmark. Scarce was he withdrawn from the coast, when the besieged made a vigorous sally, destroyed all his works, and freed the passage of the Warnow. Thus the communication being opened with the sea, it was to no purpose at that time to continue the siege; so that the confederate princes withdrew their forces, and put them into quarters of refreshment. The Rostockers in the mean while set about repairing and augmenting their fortifications; and, in order to prevent the Danes from entering the Warnow with the same facility, they erected towers on each side of the river. There were very strong factions in the town, which destroyed that order and unanimity so necessary in times of public danger. Some were for a republican government; a few of the magistrates for submitting to the king of Denmark; but the more considerable party were for calling in their old prince Nicholas Puer, and restoring him to his former sovereignty. To what purpose was it, they said, to look out for a foreign leader, when they had a prince of their own, famed for his virtues, and descended from their ancient sovereigns? Was it not infinitely more eligible to live under so mild a government, than to submit to a foreign yoke, and to be robbed of their liberties by Danish tyrants? It is true, their princes had applied to that crown for protection; but was submission due, where they felt the highest degree of violence and oppression? These tumultuous discourses had a proper effect; so that, notwithstanding all the opposition of the magistrates, the people invited Nicholas into the city, carried him in triumphant procession to the town-hall, and proclaimed him their lawful sovereign. Nicholas was so weak as to be pleased with the adoration of a giddy multitude, who, perhaps, with as sudden a transition, would have been equally ready to burn, as now they were to offer incense to their idol.

The siege of
Rostock
raised.

The town
rent by fac-
tions.

1313.
The siege of
Rostock re-
newed.

Violent se-
ditions in
Rostock.

BUT this was only putting off the evil day: the confederates were too powerful, and too much exasperated, to desist from their enterprize upon the first disappointment. The next summer king Eric, greatly chagrined at what happened in his absence, returned on the feast of St. John Baptist with a powerful fleet, on which he had embarked a considerable body of land forces. At the same time Henry the Lion, and the other princes, brought back their army, and once more laid siege to that unhappy city. The Danes attacked the forts which had been erected at the mouth of the Warnow, and, after a most vigorous resistance of three days, carried them by assault. The king ordered a strong garrison to be thrown into those forts; so that the town was blocked up by sea, as well as by land, and precluded from all hopes of assistance. The siege had now been carried on with the utmost vigour for three months, when the town being greatly distressed for provisions, the magistrates proposed to treat of terms with the besiegers. In this distress the inhabitants, instead of providing for their common safety, flew into the greatest rage, and turned their resentment against the senate. They affirmed, that the public liberties were sold to the king, and that the mouth of the river was blocked up by their connivance. Then they broke out into an open revolt, and yielding to their natural impetuosity, they plunged into the horrors of civil war, and turned their swords against their own bowels. Like madmen they roamed about the streets, murdered several of the magistrates, tortured others, till the whole city was become a continued scene of slaughter and barbarity. The ringleader of this furious rabble was one Henry Runge, a ruffian, devoid of all compassion and humanity; his brother being a member of the senate, and a person of great probity and virtue, some of the factious mob, willing to favour their leader, interceded in his brother's behalf, but all in vain: Since my brother, said Henry, is an accomplice in guilt with the other senators, let him share their fate, and perish according to his deserts.

AFTER

AFTER they had raged in this manner for some time, their fury, at length, began to subside; and perceiving the ill consequence of their divisions, while the enemy was so ready to convert them to his advantage, they thought proper to apply in a submissive manner to king Eric, and to ask pardon for their rebellion, in hopes of obtaining a favourable capitulation. The king, being a prince of a merciful disposition, seemed to pity their condition; and would, perhaps, have granted them good terms, had not he been suddenly called back to Denmark, upon the news of an insurrection which broke out in that kingdom. Before he embarked, he referred the burghers to Henry the Lion, whom he had already appointed governor of Rostock, and to whom he recommended to treat the inhabitants with lenity. Henry granted them a cessation of arms, and nominated commissioners to settle the capitulation. The treaty was to be negotiated without the walls; but the prince of Mecklenburg, at the request, and by the connivance of some of the principal citizens, found means to convey two waggons full of soldiers, on the feast of the Epiphany, into the city. As they were entering the gates, they contrived, by the prince's direction, to break the wheels, which gave them time to obstruct the passage, till more troops, both horse and foot, came up; and, seizing the gates, opened a passage for Henry and great part of his forces. The alarm was now spread all over the city; and the burghers flying to their arms, made a vigorous stand, and bravely repelled the enemy. But more troops rushing in, and pressing hard upon the inhabitants, the latter collected their whole force in the market-place, fully determined to defend their liberties with the last drop of their blood, and to make the enemy pay very dear for his conquest. Henry, observing their countenances breathed fury and revenge, and that a victory over such desperadoes must be attended with great slaughter of his men, commanded a person to proclaim the king's orders, that justice should be administered by law, even by the law of Lubeck, without having recourse to the sword or to arbitrary power; and that his only reason for entering the city in that man-

Rostock is
obliged to
submit.

1314.

The rioters
punished.

ner, was to provide better quarters for his troops, which might be exposed to great inconveniences in that inclement time of the year, during a tedious negotiation. No sooner was this declaration made, than a sudden calm ensued; the name of justice disarmed the burghers, who withdrew to their respective homes; and Henry was permitted to quarter his troops without farther opposition. A tribunal was soon after erected: several of the most criminal among the late rioters were brought to their trial, and underwent the punishment due to their horrid barbarities; but the greater part of them made their escape, and only suffered a confiscation of their estates. The city was fined, at three instalments, the sum of fourteen thousand marks, as an indemnity to the king of Denmark, the prince of Mecklenburg, and the marquis of Brandenburg, for the expences of the war. The public tranquillity being restored, Henry took upon him the government of the city in the name of king Eric; and, in order to bridle the citizens, he obliged them to maintain a large garrison of troops belonging to the three princes, in the fortress of Warnemunde. Such were the melancholy effects of discord and intestine division; by these their strength was weakened, and by these they became, at length, a prey to their enemy, who soon deprived them of their boasted privileges. It is true, indeed, that when the public tranquillity was afterwards settled, the privilege of the city, though under great restrictions, were again confirmed, upon paying a considerable sum of money. That is, they were obliged to make a new purchase of their charter. And as it was still deemed a Danish city, king Eric favoured it with an extraordinary privilege in 1315, which may be seen in Ungnaden's Amænit. Diplom.*.

Henry's wife
conduct.

FROM the foregoing narrative it evidently follows, that Henry the Lion must have been a consummate politician in transacting this whole affair, so as to gain the advantage, not only over the princes of his own family, but over the kings of

* Crantzius, Marshal, Kirchberg, Chemnitz, Latomus, Corner, Pontan, Bechr, Kluver, Buckholtz.

Denmark *. The former intirely forfeited all their right and pretensions to Rostock, and the latter retained only a precarious sovereignty, subject to the will and good pleasure of Henry, who, at length, by his prudent management, acquired full possession of the whole. After he was become intire master of this city, it no longer felt the effects of his indignation, but, on the contrary, was favoured with greater immunities and privileges, as that of coining money, which was granted them in 1325, for a valuable consideration. Upon reading these accounts, it may occasion some surprize, that the princes in those days should be so often incensed against the maritime cities upon the coasts of the Baltic, and yet be so liberal and indulgent in favouring them with privileges. But when we reflect, that those towns were grown opulent and powerful by means of their extensive commerce; and that the princes on the other hand, by their extravagance and ill-conduct, were generally distressed for want of money, our amazement ceases. To supply their exigencies, many princes must have applied to those wealthy towns for sums of money, which they could not obtain without giving them a pledge, or by a concession of privileges. And these were often stretched and abused by the insolence of citizens, to the prejudice of the sovereign †.

DURING these transactions on the borders of the Baltic, the German empire was miserably harassed by a dispute between two competitors to the imperial dignity, Frederick of Austria,

Affairs of the
empire.

* Nicholas Puer, lord of Rostock, happening to die about this time, Henry succeeded to his right to the town and lordship of Rostock, and excluded the princes of Werle. Soon after this, viz. in 1320, he became intire master of the fortrefs of Warnemunde, by expelling the garrisons of Denmark and Brandenburg; but apprehending that Christopher, king of Denmark, might seek an opportunity of being revenged, as soon as the disturbances of that kingdom subsided, he sold the fortrefs to the citizens of Rostock for a considerable sum. Having afterwards strengthened his interest by an alliance with Sweden, he obtained of Christopher a renunciation of all his pretensions to that city and district, which then reverted, in full sovereignty, to its natural lord. We have thrown these different revolutions of that famous city into one view, to the end that the reader may have a more adequate idea of the subject.

† Crantzius, Kirchberg, Corner, Latomus, Beehr, Buckholtz.

and Lewis of Bavaria. The reign of Albert I. of Austria, who succeeded Adolphus of Nassau in 1298, was far from being fortunate. His sordid avarice had rendered him odious to his subjects, and, at length, proved the cause of his tragical end. He was murdered in 1308 by his own nephew, John, duke of Suabia, for refusing to restore to that prince his paternal inheritance. Albert was at that time on his march to quell the Swiss, who had taken up arms in defence of their liberties, which had been greatly encroached upon by the house of Austria. But that very oppression, which was intended to establish the sway of arbitrary power, gave rise to the famous Helvetic republic. After the death of Albert, the electors raised Henry VII. of the house of Luxemburg to the imperial throne. This prince, having settled the affairs of Germany to his satisfaction, undertook an expedition to Italy, in order to confirm his authority, and to compose the disturbances of that country, where the factions of the Guelfs and Gibellines were revived with the greatest animosity. In the middle of his career, he was poisoned by a Dominican friar, named Bernard Politian, who is said to have been suborned by the Florentines, that emperor's enemies, to mix poison in the consecrated host. After that prince's decease, the electors were divided with regard to a successor, some giving their vote to Lewis, duke of Bavaria, and others to Frederick, duke of Austria. These two rivals waged war against each other the space of nine years, during which time the empire was a constant scene of slaughter and confusion. At length the contest was decided, by the bloody battle of Muhldorff, in the bishoprick of Saltzburg, when Frederick was taken prisoner, and Lewis, upon the resignation of his competitor, remained sole possessor of the empire *.

1313.

1322.

Barbarity of
a peasant.

ABOUT this time happened an event among the Venedic peasants, in the duchy of Luneburg, which strongly proves the barbarity of that ignorant age. The countess of Mansfeld's lady, who was daughter to the count of Luchow, had occasion to pay a visit to her relations. In her way through the country

* Heifs, Pfeiffel, Barre.

of

of Luneburg, as she was upon the extremity of a wood, she heard the cries of a person who seemed to be imploring mercy. Startled at the dismal sound, she ordered one of her domestics to inquire into the cause of those lamentations. But her humanity rendering her too impatient to wait his return, she ordered her coachman to drive to the place from whence the voice issued; when lo! to her great astonishment, she beheld a decrepit old man, with his hands tied, begging hard for mercy, and entreating a person that was digging a grave, to spare his life. Struck with this moving spectacle, the gentle countess asked the grave-digger what he meant by using such violence to the helpless old man. The digger, not at all alarmed at the sight of the lady and her retinue, but thinking himself engaged in an action no way criminal, and even agreeable to justice and reason, told the countess, that the old man was his own father, but now past labour, and unable to earn his bread; he therefore was going to commit him to the earth from whence he came, as a burden and a nuisance. The lady, shocked at a speech which she thought so unnatural, reproved the man for his impiety, and represented to him how contrary such an action was to the divine law, by which we are forbid to kill any man, much less our parent, whom we are bound to respect and honour. The man looking at her earnestly said, What must I do, good lady, I have a house full of children, and I must work hard to maintain them all, and scarce is my labour sufficient; now I cannot take the bread out of the mouths of my little babes, and suffer them to starve, to give it to this old man, whose life is no longer of any use, either to himself, or to my family. The countess, fetching a deep sigh, turned about to her attendants, "Behold, said she, the miserable condition of these poor peasants, how lamentable their case, how hard their distress, to be obliged to kill those who give them life, to prevent their offspring from starving! Yet the opulent and the great are insensible to the misery of these poor objects, and instead of relieving their necessities, every day aggravate their distress, by new tyranny and oppression." Saying this, the ge-
nerous

nerous lady drew out her purse, and giving the man a considerable sum, desired him to spare his aged father's life. The man returned her thanks, and promised to provide for him as long as the money lasted. The lady declared he should have a further supply when necessary, and ordered her servants to proceed on their journey*.

1316.
Henry wages
war against
Branden-
burg.

NOT long after the siege of Rostock, a dispute arose between Henry the Lion and Waldemar, marquis of Brandenburg, in relation to the territory of Stargard, which had been for some time a bone of contention between the two families. While a negotiation was carrying on, Waldemar determining to surprize his enemy, marched an army into that province, and soon made himself master of the castle of Vorstenhagen. From thence he proceeded with the greatest celerity to Waldegge, a town of considerable strength, to which he immediately laid siege. The attacks were carried on with vigour, and the besieged as vigorously defended themselves, making frequent sallies, and using several stratagems to repel and annoy the enemy. The Brandenburgers expected to become masters of the place by undermining it, in which they flattered themselves they had proceeded unknown to the garrison; but they found themselves fatally mistaken; for when they had almost completed their work, and were ready to enter the town, the besieged being well acquainted with the subterraneous operations, opened a communication with the mine, and poured down such a quantity of water (for they were as yet strangers to the springing of mines by gunpowder) upon the workmen and the soldiers, that they were all drowned. By this stratagem the attempt upon Waldegge was rendered abortive, and Waldemar thought it advisable to raise the siege.

The princes
of Werle
join with
Branden-
burg.

HENRY, in the mean time, was not idle; but as he had been attacked by surprize, it required some time to rally his forces. He had prevailed upon his brother-in-law Rodolph, duke of Saxony, to join him with some troops, and others from

* Crantz. Vandal.

all parts were daily expected. On the other hand, Waldemar had entered into an alliance with John and Nicholas, princes of Werle, who were jealous of their cousin's greatness, and resolved to clip his wings, before his aspiring genius should be at leisure to undermine the younger branches of the family. Waldemar was not disheartened by his miscarriage before Waldegge; but instantly decamping, proceeded with his army to Brandenburg, not the town of that name in his own margraviate, but another in the principality of Stargard. The margrave intended to surprize this place, where Henry the Lion, and Rodolph of Saxony, were waiting for their reinforcements. But he found the two princes upon their guard; and, although they were not as yet able to cope with him in the field, they sent out their flying parties, which had several skirmishes with the enemy. Waldemar, perceiving his army diminished, and no hopes of taking the town, thought proper to retire; but he was harrassed in his retreat; and particularly in crossing the ford at Vorsten, the enemy fell upon his rear, and took a great number of prisoners. At length the reinforcements, expected by Henry the Lion, arrived, after meeting with some accidents in their march, which are worthy of being related. A detachment, under the command of Henry III. count of Schwerin, coming to join the prince of Mecklenburg, fell in with a body of troops, which John, prince of Werle, was leading to the assistance of Waldemar: at that very juncture Nicholas, the brother of John, was marching another way, with the same design of joining his forces to those of the elector of Brandenburg. John, being a prince of great intrepidity, attacked the count of Schwerin, and, after an obstinate engagement, took him prisoner. Elated with this success, he continued his march in a kind of triumph, little imagining he should so quickly exchange his situation with that of the captive count. He had not proceeded to any great distance, when he was surprised by a much superior body of troops, belonging to the prince of Mecklenburg; and, although he made a most gallant defence, he was obliged, at length, to surrender himself prisoner. This

The count of
Schwerin ta-
ken prisoner.

1317.
The prince
of Werle ta-
ken prisoner.

Peace with
Branden-
burg.

1318.
War between
Denmark
and Bran-
denburg.

battle was fought near Gransee, a town of some note in the county of Ruppín. By this caprice of fortune, the count of Schwerin was released, and the late victor was led into captivity. In short, he had the mortification of being conducted into the presence of his cousin of Mecklenburg, who, being sensible of the enmity and hatred of this prince towards his person, led him about for some time, as it were, in triumph, and obliged him, at length, to purchase his liberty, by the surrender of the town and district of Malchin. Thus was fortune propitious to Henry in all his enterprizes; and even the machinations of his own jealous relations, instead of doing him any prejudice in what concerned his interest, redounded to his advantage. For Waldemar, hearing of this disaster of his ally, thought proper to enter into a negotiation, and, after some debates, a peace was, at length, concluded; by which the margrave of Brandenburg agreed, to restore not only whatever he had wrested from Henry, but, moreover, resigned all pretensions to the principality of Stargard, and relinquished, in his favour, the town and district of Eldenburg*, in the territory of Prignitz. To crown Henry's success, John of Werle was obliged to cede to him the town and district of Wredenhagen, not in full property, however, but as a mortgage, or security, for the payment of his ransom†.

THE ensuing year, a fresh contest arose between Eric, king of Denmark, and Waldemar of Brandenburg, in which Henry was induced to act as an auxiliary, and afterwards acquired great honour as a mediator. This contest was occasioned by the city of Stralsund, whose inhabitants had committed several outrages against the subjects of Witzlaus, prince of Rugen, and king Eric's ally. This prince thought proper to make reprisals on the territory of Stralsund, and was supported by the king of Denmark, while the margrave of Brandenburg espoused the cause

* The town and district of Eldenburg afterwards fell to the lords of Quitzow, who paid homage for it till very lately to the elector of Brandenburg, in whose possession it is at present. The family of Quitzow is still extant in the territory of Prignitz, but their ancient patrimony is greatly diminished.

† Crantzius, Kirchberg, Marshal, Bacmeister, Corner, Beehr, Kluver.

of the inhabitants of Stralsund. At length, an open rupture ensued between Eric and Waldemar; the latter was joined by Christopher, the king's brother, with several of the Danish nobles, who were disaffected to the government. On the other hand, Eric was strictly connected with the duke of Saxony, Henry the Lion prince of Mecklenburg, the counts of Holstein, and the count of Schwerin, on whose assistance he could safely depend. Waldemar and his allies equipped a strong squadron at Stralsund, and made a descent in Fuhnen, where they defeated Flepp, the governor of the island, and possessed themselves of the city of Swenburg. Alarmed at this intelligence, Eric ordered Harman, count of Glica, to land a body of troops in the neighbourhood of Stralsund, and lay siege to that city. The count, upon his arrival in Germany, was joined by a great number of princes, who were allied to Denmark. As this is one of the most memorable sieges recorded in history, the names of the princes concerned in the undertaking, whose mighty efforts were so surprizingly baffled, may be worth transmitting to posterity. Besides Birger, king of Sweden, there were present Albert, duke of Upper Saxony; Eric, duke of Lower Saxony; Canute, duke of Halland; Gerard and John, counts of Holstein; Adolphus, count of Schaumburg; Guncelin, count of Wittenburg; Henry, count of Schwerin; Pribislaus, lord of Wenden; and Henry the Lion, prince of Mecklenburg.

THE siege of Stralsund was carried on with extraordinary vigour, most of the confederate princes exerting their utmost efforts, in order to signalize their zeal and affection to king Eric. On the other hand, the besieged made a most gallant defence, and by their frequent sallies damped the ardour of the enemy. In one of those sallies, they had the good fortune to defeat the corps under the command of the duke of Sax-Lawenburg; on which occasion, the duke himself was taken prisoner. The season, at length, being far advanced, and king Eric not arriving, as was expected, with a reinforcement of troops, Herman, the Danish general, called a council of war, where the princes agreed to break up their camp, and to raise the siege. This

The siege of
Stralsund.

The siege
raised.

disappointment of the confederates, was a subject of great triumph to the citizens of Stralsund, who, indeed, had reason to boast of having baffled the attempts of so formidable a confederacy. As for the duke of Saxe-Lawenburg, they delivered him up to their prince Wratislaus, duke of Wolgast, by whom he was put into the hands of the elector of Brandenburg, and, at length, obliged to pay sixteen thousand marks of silver for his ransom*.

1319.
The congress
of Wismar.

THUS did this unhappy prince pay dear for his affection to king Eric, who made no suitable return to any of the allies. The truth is, Eric was naturally averse to war; a disposition which prevented him from making such efforts, as were necessary, on this occasion, to assert the honour of his crown, or support the interest of his allies. Besides, he was now advanced in years, and desirous to lay the foundation of a plan, for spending the remainder of his days in peace and tranquility. This induced Henry, who had assisted him with troops, to offer his mediation for accommodating matters, which was accepted. At the same time, he proposed the town of Wismar for holding a congress, to which all the belligerent princes, and their allies, were invited. In pursuance of this resolution, an assembly was convened, at which were present, not according to the modern practice, a number of plenipotentiaries and ministers, who seek only to chicanery and gain time, but most of the princes themselves; as the king of Denmark; Waldemar, marquis of Brandenburg; Eric and John, dukes of Saxony; John and Nicholas, lords of Werle; Gerard and John, counts of Schwerin and Wittenburg; with Henry the Lion, and several other princes, besides the deputies of some of the Anseatic cities. Henry, upon this occasion, displayed abilities in the cabinet equal to those he had shewn in the field; and, by great management, effected a reconciliation between the king and the elector of Brandenburg. A peace was signed, and it was agreed that all the towns, which the marquis and his allies had possessed themselves of since the war, should be restored†.

* Crantzius, Meursius, Pontan.

† Crantz. Marshal, Chemnitz, Corner, Kirchberg, Pontan, Meursius, Beehr, Buckholtz.

CHRISTOPHER, the king of Denmark's brother, could not make interest to be included in this treaty, at least upon such terms as he required; therefore, he retired to Sweden, where he lived an exile till the death of Eric, which happened this very year. The king, in his last illness, expressed a desire of being reconciled to his brother, and recommended him for his successor. Eric is said to have made some collections out of the archives of the kingdom, towards a Danish history, which were called *Congesta Mendvedii*, for by that surname was he distinguished by his people*. After a warm contest between Eric, duke of Sleswick, and Christopher, the latter, was raised to the throne by the influence, as we are told, of bribery and corruption: this is mentioned as the first instance in the Danish history, of a king who was indebted to such illicit means for his exalted dignity. Waldemar, marquis of Brandenburg, did not long survive king Eric, but was seized with a fever, which carried him off this very year, after he had restored tranquility to his subjects. He was succeeded by his nephew Waldemar II. of whom more hereafter. Upon the death of Waldemar I. Henry the Lion gave orders to the officer, who commanded the Mecklenburghers in garrison at the fortress of Warnemunde, to eject the troops of Brandenburg, which was done accordingly. The possession of that fortress was then divided between the king of Denmark and Henry the Lion, but the latter soon became sole master. Being determined, at the same time, to avail himself of Waldemar's death, in order to distress and weaken the country of Brandenburg, the margraves of which had always been enemies to his family, Henry invaded that electorate, and made himself master of several places, particularly of Prentzlau, the capital of the Ucker-Marck. What was the pretext for this invasion, I can no where learn; but reasons of conveniency are never wanting to those who are eager to benefit by the distresses of their neighbours. For the weakness of Waldemar II. was such, that his country was now

1319.
Death of the
king of Den-
mark.

and of the
margrave of
Branden-
burg.

* He was so called, because whenever he affirmed or denied a thing, he used to add the Danish particle *Mend*.

become,

become, in some measure, a prey to all his neighbours; thus the princes of Saxony seized the Middle-Marck; Waldemar's widow took possession of the Old-Marck; and the prince of Mecklenburg made himself master of the Ucker-Marck, together with the district of Prignitz. But these territories were soon after recovered, under the administration of the elector Lewis the Ancient, of the house of Bavaria*.

1319.
Quarrel between Henry and the bishop of Schwerin.

THE treaty of Wismar had scarce put an end to the quarrels between Denmark and Brandenburg, when a violent contention arose between Henry the Lion and the bishop of Schwerin. This man, whose name was Herman Molzahn, happened to be of a most turbulent disposition, and to have an extraordinary passion for the din and confusion of arms. No sooner had he succeeded to the see of Schwerin in 1314, than he entered into an alliance with Eric, king of Denmark, and Henry the Lion, against Waldemar, margrave of Brandenburg. In consideration of the services he had done in the war against that prince, he insisted upon a very large sum, by way of indemnification for his expences. The demand was settled this year, by an agreement between Henry and that prelate, the particulars of which are too long to mention, and may be seen in Latomus's History of the Bishops of Schwerin.

1322.
Henry wages war against the bishop.

THE reconciliation, however, between Henry and the good bishop, was of no long continuance; a few years after, another quarrel ensued, which was inflamed, at length, into a bloody war. We cannot, upon this occasion, help mentioning the ingratitude of that prelate to Henry the Lion, who had lately done him considerable service. Herman having engaged, as we before observed, with the princes who were concerned in the siege of Stralsund, greatly involved the see of Schwerin in debt, to defray the charges of that expedition. On this account, complaint was made to his metropolitan, the archbishop of Bremen, and, in consequence thereof, he incurred the sentence of excommunication; but at Henry's intercession the

* Crantzius, Kirchberg, Corner, Chemnitz, Bechr, Kluver.

affair was accommodated. The ordinary revenue of the state being insufficient for the many exigencies of Henry the Lion, he thought proper to lay an extraordinary tax on the clergy, demanding only one year's income of the ecclesiastical livings *. The clergy were alarmed at this demand, which they considered as an infraction of their immunities and exemptions. Herman, bishop of Schwerin, took the lead in the opposition, and pretended that the prince had no right to exact any supply from the church, without the consent and approbation of the sovereign pontiff. But Henry persisting in his resolution, the boisterous prelate had recourse to his spiritual thunder, that brutum fulmen which had so often shook the thrones of monarchs. He launched his excommunications against Henry with the utmost fury; and, what is more extraordinary, the whole country was laid under an interdict. Not satisfied with these spiritual weapons, the bishop had also recourse to the arm of flesh, and began to stir up enemies on every side, against the prince of Mecklenburg. Henry, being informed of these preparations, resolved not to wait till the confederates were ready to attack him, but prevent their designs by acting upon the offensive. With this intent, he marched an army into the bishopric of Schwerin, where he made himself master of the castle of Warin, and set fire to fourteen villages. Such violences were common in those days, and shew how greatly the manners of nations are altered. The confederates, on the other hand, assembling their forces, penetrated into Henry's territories, where they plundered the castles of Mecklenburg and Glockenburg. At length, the two armies met at a village called Fredericks-dorff, and a bloody engagement ensued, in which the superior abilities, and good fortune of Henry, prevailed. I do not find who commanded the confederate army, whether it was the bishop himself, or prince John of Werle, who was said to have been in the engagement. Henry used his victory with moderation; and by the mediation

The battle of
Fredericks-
dorff.

* According to some historians, he wanted to lay a tax on the livings of such incumbents as did not reside in that country. This was called Wespenloch.

1323. of friends, a peace was concluded the next year. This peace was forwarded by the decease of the turbulent bishop Herman, which happened this very year: he was succeeded by John Gans, provost of Verden, who being of a pacific disposition, took off the interdict; upon which a solid peace was established. These disturbances thoroughly convinced Henry, how dangerous it is to quarrel with the clergy, who, on the other hand, were equally afraid of contending any longer with a prince of his firmness and intrepidity. Henry's last resource in this emergency was, a loan on the mill in Gadebusch, by which means, he obtained a considerable sum of the Cistercian monks; but, though they had a security for their money, they advanced it with reluctance, and only as an expedient, as Crantzius observes, to stop the mouth of the Lion *.

Quarrel between Henry and the dukes of Pomerania.

THE difference between Henry and his clergy is probably supposed to have occasioned the quarrel which broke out this year, between this same prince and Burchard of Schrapelau, archbishop of Magdeburg. As we are not informed of the particulars of this affair, we can only conjecture, that the archbishop had a mind to fish in troubled waters. However, we do not hear of any ill consequence of this dispute, nor of another of a more important nature, which Henry happened to have about this time with the Pomeranian dukes, Wratisslaus of Wolgast, and Otho of Stettin, with regard to the succession of Rugen. For at this very period, Witslaus III. prince of Rugen, had made a testamentary disposition of his dominions in favour of the duke of Wolgast, at which prince Henry, as equally related to that prince, had great reason to be offended.

Treaty with Sweden.

IN the midst of these disturbances, Henry concluded a treaty of alliance with Magnus Schmeck, king of Sweden, which may be justly considered as a master-piece of policy. The tenor of this treaty was, to guarantee the crown of Sweden on the head of king Magnus, against the attempts of Denmark, in

* Crantzius, Chemnitz, Kirchberg, Corner, Latomus, Beehr, Kluver.

favour of king Birger, who was an exile in that kingdom. This was a most prudent measure in our prince, who knew how to consult his own safety, by espousing the cause of the victorious party. For he had been formerly in alliance with that same king Birger, against Eric, the father of the present king Magnus, which Eric had been starved to death in prison; but now that the young king Magnus had attained to a high degree of power, by the wise administration of his guardian Matthias Kettelmundson, and Denmark was agitated with divisions, in consequence of the ill government of Christopher, who, moreover, could not but look upon Mecklenburg with an evil eye, on account of Rostock and Warnemunde; Henry judged it the safest and most advantageous course, to join with Sweden. In short, he conducted himself in such a manner, with regard to the two kingdoms, as to be respectable to them both, and to make them court his friendship and alliance: this gave rise to the renunciation of Rostock on the part of Denmark in 1323, only with the exception to the dominium eminens, which signified, indeed, so little, that Henry might have done without it*.

THIS same year Henry concluded, likewise, a treaty of alliance with Gerard, count of Holstein, by which he was involved in a war that proved unsuccessful, both to him and his ally. This Gerard was the fifth of that name, surnamed the Great, of the line of Rendsburg, and highly celebrated in the Danish and Swedish histories. His character greatly resembled that of our prince Henry; and, though near neighbours, they had always lived upon the terms of harmony and friendship. This was now further cemented by a treaty of alliance, the chief design of which, on the part of Gerard, was to reduce the Ditmarsians under his yoke, who had erected themselves into a kind of republic. What advantage was stipulated in favour of Henry, I do not find; at least, he flattered himself with laurels, but was greatly disappointed. Ditmarsh is a territory of

1322:
Treaty with
Holstein.

* Crantzius, Petersen, Kirchberg, Corner, Bangert, Chemnitz, Latomus, Beehr, Buckholtz.

Gallant behaviour of the Ditmarsians.

South-Jutland, situate on the German ocean, between the Elbe and the Eyder. It takes its name from the marshes with which it abounds, in consequence of its flat situation near the mouth of the Elbe. The inhabitants were a warlike people, who shook off the yoke of Holstein towards 1150, and preserved their liberty near four centuries, till they were subdued, at length, by Frederick II. king of Denmark in 1559. The counts of Holstein made several attempts to reduce them to reason, but all were ineffectual. Such was the issue of this expedition, among the rest, which proved most unfortunate to Gerard of Holstein; the Ditmarsians stood up bravely in defence of their liberties, against two of the greatest captains of the age. The allied army was repulsed with considerable loss; count Wanstorp was among the slain, and Gerard was obliged to desist from his attempt*.

1322.
Lentzen given to the count of Schwerin.

HENRY, upon his return from this expedition, or, at least, some time this year, made a grant of the town and district of Lentzen, in fee to the count of Schwerin. Upon what considerations this grant was made, we are not informed; this, however, is certain, it did not long continue in the hands of the counts of Schwerin, but reverted soon after to the marquises of Brandenburg†.

1323.
Revolution in Brandenburg.

THE year following happened a great revolution in that electorate, occasioned by the death of the last elector of the house of Anhalt, without issue. As this was an affair of a most extraordinary nature, and productive of consequences, in which most of the princes of the empire, and particularly those of the house of Mecklenburg, were intimately concerned, it will be proper to enter more minutely into circumstances. During the struggle between Lewis of Bavaria, and Frederick of Austria, about the imperial dignity, Waldemar II. elector and margrave of Brandenburg, having no children, thought proper to undertake a pilgrimage to the Holy-land, and left his domi-

* Crantzius, Kirchberg, Petersen Holst. Chron. Russe fragm. Ditmarsf. Corner, Alard reb. Nordalb.

† Nettleblatt, Latomus, Beehr, Kluver, Buckholtz, Bacmeister.

nions to his brother John, who died, without issue, four-and-twenty days after the pilgrim's departure. Several collateral branches laid claim to that succession, such as, the duke of Saxony, the duke of Saxe-Lawenburg, and the prince of Anhalt, all descended from Albert the Bear. But the emperor, without waiting for any account of Waldemar's death, conferred this electorate upon his own son Lewis of Bavaria, surnamed the Ancient, as a vacant fief reverted to the empire. At the same time, he concluded a treaty with Barnim, duke of Pomerania, mentioning, that upon the extinction of the ducal family, the electors of Brandenburg should succeed to the dukedom of Pomerania. This treaty was confirmed in 1499 and 1571. The house of Pomerania becoming extinct in 1637, the electors of Brandenburg inherited the further Pomerania, and were indemnified for the other part, (which was yielded to the Swedes) by the cession of the duchy of Magdeburg, and some other principalities. Lewis the Ancient was succeeded by his brother Lewis the Roman in 1351, and the latter by his brother Otho in 1366. Otho sold it for two hundred thousand florins to the emperor Charles IV. in 1373, who, that same year, invested his second son Sigismund with this electorate. Sigismund was afterwards raised to the imperial throne, and conferred it in 1415 on Frederick of Hohenzollern, burgrave of Nuremberg, partly in consideration of a sum of money, and partly to reward his faithful services. From that Frederick of Hohenzollern is descended the present king of Prussia. To return to the branch of Anhalt: we cannot help mentioning a remark of Crantzius, on the death of the last elector of that line; that not many years before, there were no fewer than nineteen princes of this branch living, and yet it became suddenly extinct. So frail and uncertain is all human grandeur*!

SCARCE had Lewis the Ancient taken possession of the electorate of Brandenburg, when he began to revive the old pretensions of the margraves to the province of Stargard, and to some other districts bordering on the frontiers. He flattered him-

1323.
War with
Brandenburg.

* Crantzius, Heifs, Pfeffel.

himself that his father's name would strike a terror into Henry; but our Lion was not so easily intimidated. All hopes of accommodation vanishing, both sides prepared for war, and troops were raised with the utmost expedition. The two armies met at a little town called Granzoi, on the borders of the electorate; where a battle was fought with the utmost obstinacy, and for a long time with dubious success. At length, victory declared itself on the side of Henry, and the Brandenburgers were obliged to quit the field. The number of killed, wounded, and prisoners, was very considerable. Among the captives on the elector's side were, the counts of Regenstein and Mansfeld: the elector † himself had the ill luck in the beginning of the action, to be taken by the enemy; and the good fortune again to be rescued by the extraordinary efforts of some of his best troops. On the other hand, John, count of Holstein, who had joined Henry the Lion with a body of auxiliaries, fell into the hands of the elector of Brandenburg, by whom he was detained in captivity three years. Neither was he released, at length, but upon condition of espousing Catharine, the widow of John, the last marquis of Brandenburg; and the portion she brought with her, was the setting her husband at liberty. As the lady was young and beautiful, the condition did not at all seem hard; many would have considered themselves as extremely fortunate by such a disaster, and would have fancied they had gained a prize by forfeiting their liberty.

By the loss of this battle, the elector of Brandenburg was so disheartened, that he entered into a negotiation with Henry, and a peace was concluded, upon the terms of *uti possidetis*. At length, a final accommodation was made in 1325, by which the elector solemnly renounced all pretensions to the districts or territories which Henry possessed in that electorate, and in which Stargard was included, in consideration of the sum of eight thousand marks of silver*.

* Crantzius, Kirchberg, Beehr.

† This seems to be a mistake, for the elector was then but fourteen years of age: however, we have adopted the common accounts of that transaction.

THIS same year Henry had the pleasure of finishing the convent of Ribnitz, which he had begun to build in 1319. It is thought by some, that he hastened this foundation in order to be reconciled to the clergy, whose displeasure he must have greatly incurred by the battle of Fredericks-dorff. And, perhaps, this was a condition of his absolution. Yet it is something very extraordinary, that he should embroil himself in a quarrel on this account with John Gans, bishop of Schwerin. This good prelate refused to consecrate the church, because Henry had favoured it with too many privileges, which the bishop considered as prejudicial to the see of Schwerin. But, at length, he was obliged to comply with an order from the pope *.

1323.
Convent of
Ribnitz
founded.

HENRY crowned the success of this year by a negotiation with Christopher, king of Denmark, against whom he had several claims and demands, for the services done to that northern crown. In order to settle all differences, and likewise to make a compensation for various damages, the king resigned to Henry all his right and title to the city of Rostock, and its dependent territory. This was a considerable acquisition to Henry, who had the good fortune of recovering from a powerful monarch, one of the chief principalities belonging to his family.

The king of
Denmark re-
signs Ros-
tock to Hen-
ry.

CHRISTOPHER having settled this affair, set sail for Germany, with a strong squadron, in order to have an interview with the emperor Lewis, the Bavarian, who proposed marrying his son to the princess of Denmark. The fleet sailed up the Trave, and the king pitched his camp at a place called Denschburg, where he waited some time for the emperor's arrival. But finding himself disappointed of the interview, the emperor being prevented by other business of greater importance, he embarked for Denmark, without vouchsafing to visit the city of

* Crantzius Metrop. Buckholtz. See also in Westphal. tom. 4. the history of this convent, written by Lambert Schlaggert, and brought down to the year 1539. The letters of the foundation of this convent are lost, and all we know further of this house is, that Henry's daughter, named Beatrix, by his second wife, was the first abbess, and that the nuns were of the order of St. Clare.

Lubeck, though he had been encamped, as it were, under its walls. Whether this proceeded from his reflecting, with regret, that this fine city formerly belonged to the crown of Denmark, or from some other cause, we are not informed; it is certain, however, that he was not so delicate the next year, when he came to Germany again, to celebrate his daughter's nuptials *.

Henry favours the town of Rostock.

THE citizens of Rostock being informed of the late transaction, between the king of Denmark and Henry the Lion, with regard to the sovereignty of their town and territory, sent a deputation to the latter, in order to congratulate him upon so important an event. At the same time they petitioned, in the most humble manner, that he would grant them leave to demolish the fort, which Eric, king of Denmark, had erected at the mouth of the Warnow. Henry, willing to conciliate the affections of his new subjects, and, perhaps, not reflecting on the consequences, acquiesced in their demand, upon condition, however, of their paying him a very considerable sum of money †. This, perhaps, was his chief inducement; for the many wars and expeditions in which he had been so often engaged, had covered him, indeed, with glory, but drained him, as long wars will drain every state, of money. However, his posterity had reason to repent this indulgence to the citizens of Rostock, who were found to be of so seditious a disposition, as to require some curb to bridle their insolence. As soon as the prince's permission was obtained, the Rostockers, in a transport of joy, went all to work, and razed the fort, much quicker than it was erected, leaving only one tower standing, to serve for a light-house to mariners ‡.

UPON this occasion, those same people had a very disagreeable and unexpected quarrel with John Gans, the new bishop of

* Crantzius.

† This is the account given by Crantzius, which is, indeed, equivalent to saying, in other terms, that he sold the fort of Warnemunde to the city of Rostock.

‡ Crantz. Vand. & Metrop. Kluver, Buckholtz, Latomus.

Schwerin. In demolishing the fortrefs of Warnemunde, they happened to pull down an old unfrequented church, as an useless building. The bishop of Schwerin exclaimed against this proceeding, as contrary to the immunities of the church; and, upon their refusing to make satisfaction, he excommunicated the city of Rostock. The quarrel proceeded no farther, for the prince of Mecklenburg interposing, the citizens rebuilt the church, and the bishop removed the excommunication.

THE year following, Henry was invited by Christopher, king of Denmark, to Lubeck, in order to assist at the nuptials of his daughter with Lewis, son of the marquis of Brandenburg. The ceremony was performed with the utmost magnificence, a great concourse of nobility and princes having flocked from all parts to partake of the rejoicings. The young prince, then only fifteen years old, was conducted to this city by Berthold, count of Henneberg, who had the care of his education. In the midst of the festivity, the Danish king, whether of his own accord, or at the instigation of the count, is uncertain, gave notice to Henry, that he should be glad to confer with him in private about business of consequence. Henry, not suspecting any design, waited upon the king, according to his desire, and was much surprized at the nature of the business. Christopher complained, that Henry had wrested, at different times, several districts of lands from his son-in-law, the marquis; he declared nevertheless that he would not, at that time, dispute the justice of those acquisitions, or the right of the claimant, but would recommend compromising the matter, by Henry's accepting a sum of money in satisfaction for all his demands, and delivering up the above-mentioned districts, either into the margrave's, or the king's possession. Henry, astonished at the proposal, and reflecting, that it would be dangerous to give a flat denial to a prince who could compel him, now that he had him in his power; with extraordinary presence of mind made answer, that he would take one night to consider of it, and made no doubt but they should agree about the matter, as it did not seem to be

1324.
Henry meets
the king of
Denmark at
Lubeck.

Henry's prudent
behaviour at that
interview.

be attended with any great difficulty. With this reply the king seemed to be pleased, as much as Henry was displeased with the proposal; but as soon as he withdrew to his apartment, he sent for his servants, and ordered them to get a vessel ready for sailing that very night, being resolved to return immediately to his own dominions. His orders were obeyed, and by the next morning he was out of Christopher's power. Henry's behaviour, on this occasion, may be charged with insincerity; but whether it was not justifiable to act thus with a prince who had drawn him into a snare, under a pretext of friendship, let abler casuists determine. The affair, however, was attended with no bad consequence; for the count of Henneberg, upon his return from Denmark, proposed an interview with Henry, in order to settle the above difference. Henry agreed to the proposal, and, after some time spent in negotiating, he consented to resign the contested lands, in consideration of thirty thousand marks. At the same time, was signed a treaty of friendship and amity between the two princes, and all animosities were to be buried in oblivion*.

1324.
Differences
about the
succession of
Rugen.

1325.

War on the
same ac-
count.

THESE affairs being settled, Henry concluded a treaty of alliance with the dukes of Pomerania, the particulars of which are not mentioned in history. It is remarkable for having been a very short-lived treaty; for the ensuing year he went to war with those princes, and with Witzlaus, prince of Rugen, on the same account as he had quarrelled with them before in 1322, namely, the settlement of the principality of Rugen, in favour of the dukes of Pomerania. Henry wanted an alteration in the will, as he had equal pretensions to that principality, being of the same family. This was the real motive of the war of Rugen, which broke out this year with unusual violence. Wertislaus, duke of Stettin, having made incursions into the country of Mecklenburg, prince Henry, with a reinforcement from the counts of Holstein, marched against the enemy, and laid siege to Tempin, which was obliged to surrender. From thence he led his forces against the duke of Stettin, and com-

* Crantzius.

pelled him to sue for peace, and submit to the building of the castle of Verrade upon his frontier. At this very time, reflecting that the fortrefs of Wredenhagen, of which he had been sometime in possession, greatly suited the conveniency of his cousin John, prince of Werle, he restored it to him again, in expectation of effecting a reconciliation between the two branches. His generosity was well intended, but he certainly missed his aim.

HENRY'S precaution of erecting fortresses on his own frontier, though necessary for self-defence, gave umbrage to several neighbouring princes. The prince of Rugen took an opportunity to inflame the minds of those states, by representing Henry as a person, whose ambition threatened the security of all his neighbours. In particular, he complained of a fortress which the prince of Mecklenburg had erected on the borders of Ribenitz, as an open violation of the friendship subsisting between the two powers. The prince alledged, that he had done nothing repugnant to treaty, and that his intention was only to protect his subjects from the incursions of banditti, who infested the frontiers. Witzlaus not only erected another fortress opposite to that built by Henry, but was so successful in his representations to the neighbouring states, as to occasion a confederacy to pull down the prince of Mecklenburg. This league had been conducted with great secrecy, till the confederates were ready to take the field; then they fell like a storm on Henry's dominions. This prince being unprepared for so sudden an attack, was obliged at first to give way to the impetuosity of the enemy. But the storm soon blew over; upon the approach of winter, the confederates separated their troops, and retired to their respective countries. Henry then assembling his army, determined to retaliate on the enemy, the mischief they had done to his subjects. This he found easy to effect, before the allies had time to reunite their forces, and to act against him with superior numbers. But he had the particular satisfaction of ravaging the dominions of John of Werle, in revenge for his unnatural alliance and base ingratitude.

Confederacy
raised against
Henry.

1325.
War for the
succession of
Rugen.

1326.

Troubles in
Denmark.

DURING these commotions, Witzlaus, prince of Rugen, died without issue; and the different pretenders to that succession, Henry of Mecklenburg, John of Werle, and the duke of Stettin, marched into that country, and possessed themselves of several places. Prince Henry concluded a treaty of alliance on this occasion with Christopher, king of Denmark, who having some pretensions to Rugen, was as much displeased as Henry, with the late disposition of Witzlaus. One of the pretenders to this succession, was John Gans, bishop of Schwerin, under a very extraordinary pretence, that the principality of Rugen was a fief dependent on his see. Henry made himself master of Bart, Tribbus, and Grim, and promised himself farther successes from the Danish succours, which were daily expected; when a revolution in Denmark defeated his present hopes, and interrupted the course of his conquests.

CHRISTOPHER the second, in order to support the war, in which he was about to engage for the succession of Rugen, renewed the heavy tax, called the plog pennig, which gave a general discontent to his subjects. The clergy being at the same time offended for his attempting to infringe their privileges, and the nobility for his aiming, as they said, at arbitrary power; a desertion of all orders ensued, and the king was obliged to abdicate the throne. Having secured a good part of his treasure, he retired to Germany, accompanied by his sons Waldemar and Otho. The malecontents raised Waldemar, duke of Sleswick, who was then only twelve years of age, to the throne, and resolved to exclude Christopher, and his posterity for ever from the succession. But Christopher had taken proper measures for recovering his right, by engaging several princes of Germany, and even the emperor himself, to take up arms in his behalf: he promised them all considerable lands and possessions in Denmark, as a reward for their assistance. In particular, he entered into a treaty with the prince of Mecklenburg, by which the latter was to join him with a body of troops, and in return, was to have the islands of Laland, Falster, Moen, and Rugen. This last article must have

have been kept a secret from the duke of Pomerania; for he, as well as John of Werle, suspended their quarrels with Henry the Lion, and they all joined in this expedition with one accord.

CHRISTOPHER, assisted by these forces, sailed with a considerable fleet to Laland and Falster, and made himself master of Nikopping. At the same time he published a proclamation, inviting his subjects, by a free pardon, to return to their duty. This had a proper effect on the Danes, who were tired of their new government, the provinces of the kingdom being now bought and sold, like merchandize, by the nobility and counts of Holstein. This paved the way for the restoration, upon conditions, however, extremely onerous to the crown, as almost all the lands belonging to the king's demesne were mortgaged to the principal nobility. In particular, the earl of Wagria, Canute Porcius, and the archbishop of Lunden, obtained considerable possessions. But the prince of Mecklenburg, notwithstanding a stipulation in his favour, in the very treaty by which the king recovered his crown, was egregiously disappointed; for he died not long after, and the promise which had been made him of Falster, Laland, and Moen, was broke as having been made by a king in distress, and, consequently, extorted merely by necessity. Such was the gratitude of the Danish monarch! Henry, upon his return from Denmark, revived his pretensions to Rugen, and even renewed hostilities against the duke of Pomerania: yet this quarrel was not of long continuance; for this same year he signed a treaty with the duke, by which he gave up his right and pretensions to Rugen, for the sum of thirty-one thousand marks of silver*.

1328.
Restoration
of king
Christopher.

Henry dis-
appointed by
that prince.

HENRY was the more disposed to this peace, as his health began to decline, and the approach of old age made him think of preparing for his latter end. Add to this, his children were very young, so that he was unwilling their minority should be endangered by the tumults of war. Finding his dissolution approaching, he behaved, in that last awful scene, with

1329.
Henry's ill-
ness and last
will.

* Crantzius, Alard. reb. Nordalbing. Kirchberg, Enewald Chron. Holst. Peterfen Chron. Holst. Bangert, Latomus, Corner, Pontan, Beehr.

the same fortitude and resignation, as he had shewn in every other part of his life; and made such dispositions as he thought necessary for the welfare of his family. The guardianship of his two sons he intrusted to the magistrates of Rostock and Wismar, as a mark of confidence in those cities, by which he hoped to secure their loyalty and allegiance to the young princes. Another piece of policy in this measure was, to prevent any foreign power from acquiring any control or inspection over his dominions. But whether he was not partly mistaken in his politics, in furnishing those cities with an opportunity to enlarge their immunities and privileges, I will not take upon me to determine. It is said, that prince John II. of Werle, as the eldest prince of the family, was not at all pleased with this disposition.

ACTUATED by the religion of the times, he made some pious donations; particularly to the convent of Dobberan, where he ordered his body to be interred, he bequeathed a beautiful necklace, worth four hundred marks of silver, with his bracelet, valued at one hundred marks. And being desirous to ease the poor, to whom he had been always an indulgent father, he ordered the tax upon the indigent peasants, called the Canum fruges, to be abolished. Having made these preparations for death, he, with composure, waited its approach, which happened, at length, in the year 1329.

THUS died, with the same fortitude as he had lived, Henry the Lion, one of the greatest heroes of the illustrious house of Mecklenburg. He reigned nine-and-twenty years, during which time he justly acquired the reputation of an able general, a consummate statesman, and, withal, a good christian, and the father of his country. His virtues were free from every tincture of the opposite vices; he was brave without temerity, liberal without prodigality, just without severity, devout without bigotry; in short, his character shines most conspicuous in the annals of Mecklenburg, and must ever endear his name to posterity. No prince was ever more respected by his neighbours, for he had no enemies but such as were jealous of his abilities. He was generally successful in his undertakings, and

1329.
Henry's
death and
character.

and he enlarged his dominions without the imputation of cruelty or injustice. In all his transactions, he appears to have acted as an independent prince, never acknowledging any feudal subjection, except to the king of Denmark, on the account of Rostock.

He was thrice married: his first wife was Beatrix, daughter of Albert, margrave of Brandenburg, of the line of Anhalt, by whom he had only one daughter, named Matilda, who was married to Otho, duke of Brunswick-Luneburg. We have taken notice, that his wife Beatrix brought him the principality of Stargard for her portion; but as he was obliged to recover it by force of arms, and afterwards to pay a pecuniary consideration for it, he did not leave it to his daughter Matilda, but incorporated it with his other dominions. Beatrix died in 1306, and was interred at Wismar.

His marriages and issue.

His second wife was Anne of Saxony*, daughter of Albert II. duke of Saxony, of the Ascanian line, and sister of Rudolph I. By this princess he had three sons, Albert I. and John III. who succeeded him, and Henry IV. who died young. He had also by this same marriage four daughters, Anna, married to Henry the Iron, count of Holstein; Agnes, married to Nicholas VIII. prince of Werle; Beatrix, abbess of Ribnitz; and Anastasia, who died young†.

His third wife was Agnes, countess of Ruppin and Lindau, and widow of Witzlaus, prince of Rugen. Henry buried his second wife in 1326, and espoused this his third wife soon after, viz. in 1327. She survived our Henry, but did not increase the family of Mecklenburg, her husband dying soon after, viz. in 1329‡.

* This princess is, without any foundation, said to have been the widow of a landgrave of Thuringia.

† The time of these princes nativity is difficult to ascertain; yet it seems, that Albert, the eldest, was born before 1313, as we find him mentioned in a public instrument that year in Westphal's Diplomats. tom. 4.

‡ Crantzius, Corner, Marshal, Chemnitz, Latomus, Kirchberg, Beehr, Kluver, Hubner, Buckholtz.

C H A P. XI.

Of the princely lines of Parchim, Rostock, and Wenden.

BEFORE we proceed in the history of the elder line of this illustrious house, it will not be improper to give some account of the younger branches descended from Henry Burevinus II. But as these branches were soon extinct, and the transactions of the respective princes, belonging to each of them, contain nothing very interesting to the reader, we shall be as concise as possible in this part of our narrative, and make haste to resume the main thread of the history.

IN the sixth chapter of this book, p. 83. we have taken notice, that Henry Burevinus II. left four sons, who divided their father's dominions among them. John the elder, surnamed the Theologian, from whom the present serene house is descended, had the principality of Mecklenburg, and formed the line of that name. The second brother, Niclot, formed the line of Werle or Wenden. The third brother, Henry Burevinus III. formed the line of Rostock: and the fourth brother, Pribislaus, that of Parchim. As the two younger branches of Parchim and Rostock were soon extinct, we shall begin with them, and then proceed to the branch of Wenden, by others called Werle or Gustrow.

I. Of the princely line of P A R C H I M.

IN the partition of 1237, the younger brother, Pribislaus III. received for his share the territories of Parchim, Sternberg, and Reichenberg, of which he soon took possession. He began his administration with carrying on the buildings of the town of Plawe, which had been undertaken in 1235, by the joint efforts of all the brothers. The next enterprize we find him concerned in, was the building of the town of Goldberg, an event

event which happened in 1248. A prince of so public a spirit, seemed likely to have a happy reign; but his difference with the church involved him in great troubles; and, at length, was the cause of his being stripped of his dominions.

RUDOLPH I. bishop of Schwerin, had undertaken to build a castle at Butzow, which was extremely disagreeable to Pribislaus. He therefore determined to obstruct the work, by pulling down, in the night, what had been erected in the day, in hopes the bishop would be discouraged by so strenuous an opposition. But the prelate persisted in his purpose. Pribislaus, finding his past endeavours ineffectual, took another measure; and one day when Rudolph happened to pass through his district, he seized his person, and kept him in close confinement, till a considerable sum of money was paid for his ransom. The bishop watched an opportunity of making reprisals; and, by means of his steward, whose name was Wedekind of Walfleben, was so fortunate as to surprize Pribislaus, and take him prisoner. It was now the bishop's turn to demand a ransom, which he did with all the spirit of resentment. Pribislaus, being unable to advance so large a sum as the avaricious prelate demanded, was obliged to sell most of his lands to his own brothers, in order to raise the money. This was transacted in 1257, in which year he also mortgaged the town of Parchim to Gunzelin III. count of Schwerin, to raise part of the ransom. But the counts of Schwerin were not long possessed of this mortgage, for the town soon devolved to the branch of Werle. By this unhappy adventure, Pribislaus found himself stripped of his paternal estate, and was reduced to retire to Pomerania, where he was supported by the duke of that name, whose daughter had been married to his son Pribislaus IV. and died in distressed circumstances in 1262.

THIS unhappy prince is accused of having apostatized from the Christian religion, to embrace the idolatrous worship of the Venedi. But the charge is very improbable, and founded, merely, on his having had the image of a naked virgin in his shield, or coat
of

of arms. Some think that this virgin was the goddess Siva, and others, that it was the virgin Mary, to whom he paid divine honours. But arguments taken from armorial ensigns are very precarious; for the figures in their shields were quite arbitrary, as appears from the seals and arms in Westphal's third and fourth Vol. where those of Pribislaus are also extant. Pribislaus seems rather to have been a whimsical prince, who aimed at something singular in his coat of arms, but does not appear to have had any thoughts of embracing the errors of Paganism. It is certain, that before he quarrelled with the bishop, he was very generous to the monks; and that, at his death, he professed himself a Christian. Had he, at any time of his life, been really a heathen, this would have shewn, that the idolatry of the Venedi was not so thoroughly extirpated, as is commonly pretended; otherwise, those rites could hardly have been known to Pribislaus, who was educated a Christian, and who durst not have ventured to introduce a religion universally condemned and exploded by his country. It is more agreeable to probability, that the ground of this accusation was the quarrel which Pribislaus had maintained with the bishop, and his withholding the tithes from that prelate, which, in those days, was a greater crime than idolatry itself.

His only son was Pribislaus IV. who succeeded to no part of his father's inheritance, but continued to live in the same state of obscurity in Pomerania. He married the daughter of Mistevinus, duke of Pomerania, named Tribslava, with whom he had the town of Bolgard for her fortune, which was all the support of the father and son. He died in very indigent circumstances in 1235, and luckily left no offspring, except an only daughter, named Margaret, who was brought up by the count of Schwerin. But what became of her afterwards, we find no where mentioned*.

* Crantzius, Bacmeister, Kirchberg, Latomus, Beehr, Kluver, Hubner, Spener, Buckholtz.

II. Of the princely line of Rostock.

TH E third son of Henry Burevinus II. was Henry Burevinus III. to whose share fell the lordship of Rostock. He was a prince whose whole study seemed to have been directed to the improvement of his country, and the happiness of his people. But he had a particular affection for the town of Rostock, to which he granted many privileges. In 1252, he sold to the inhabitants the right and liberty of the chace, and ten years after, he favoured the city with the privilege of having magistrates of its own, for the administration of justice. In 1244, he founded the town of Caland, or Kahlden, which, after the building of Nienkahlden, went by the name of Oldenkahlden, and is now a small village. He likewise erected several other structures, as well for secular as religious uses. His disposition was extremely pacific, which prevented his concerning himself in any foreign broils, except in the war between Eric V. of Denmark, and his brother Abel. He lost his fight some time before he died, which caused him to be neglected, and even treated with roughness and brutality by two of his sons, Eric and Henry. He was twice married, 1. To Sophia, a princess of Sweden, by whom he had a son named John, who died young. 2. To Margaret, daughter of Eric, king of Denmark, by whom he had three sons, Waldemar, and the above-mentioned Eric and Henry. The two latter had no share in the administration, and both died without issue. The old prince resigned the government, at length, to his son Waldemar, and departed this life in 1277. He was interred at Dobberan, in the family monument.

1262.

HENRY Burevinus III. was succeeded by his son Waldemar, a prince of a very mild disposition, who employed his whole time in promoting the arts of peace, and the welfare of his subjects. In the very beginning of his administration, he resigned to the town of Rostock the piece of ground on which his father had an intention of building a castle; and he enlarged the freedom of that city so far, as to grant a privilege, that no fortrefs should ever be erected on that spot. His aunt Margaret, queen dowager

1282.

of Denmark, had so great an opinion of his prudence and virtue, that she retired to Rostock, in order to spend the remainder of her days with her nephew. This princess was surnamed Shwartha Grete, or Springhefs, the widow of Christopher I. and mother of Eric VII. king of Denmark. Happening to be in great danger in a storm at sea, she had made a vow of building a monastery at Rostock, which she accordingly performed, and it was called by the name of the Holy Cross. Waldemar, and his aunt Margaret, both died at Rostock the same year, and were interred at Dobberan, in the monument belonging to the family. Waldemar had married Agnes, daughter of the count of Holstein, by whom he had an only son, Niclotus, or Nicholas, surnamed Puer, or the Boy.

NICHOLAS PUER succeeded his father in the lordship of Rostock. He was surnamed the Boy, from his having lived a considerable time under the guardianship of his cousins of Mecklenburg and Werle; as also, from the weakness of his conduct during the whole time of his administration. This he shewed in nothing more, than in wavering so long about the choice of a wife, by which means he involved himself in great difficulty and trouble. For of three that were proposed to him, one a daughter of the count of Ruppín and Lindau; another named Agnes, daughter of Albert III. margrave of Brandenburg, and sister of Beatrix, the wife of Henry the Lion of Mecklenburg; and the third named Margaret, daughter of Bogislaus IV. duke of Pomerania; he preferred the latter, which he had afterwards great reason to repent. His imprudence appeared chiefly in courting those three princesses all at the same time, which gave occasion of offence to the relations of the two that were rejected. The margraves of Brandenburg expressed the strongest resentment, by declaring war against a prince, who had done them no other injury, but that of refusing to marry their relation. The war proved very unfortunate to Nicholas; so that, in the issue, being no longer able to withstand the power of the margraves, he consented to become tributary to Brandenburg. But this situation was not of long continuance; for Nicholas was
 6 after-

afterwards ashamed of that tribute, and therefore determined upon a more honourable servitude, by putting himself under the protection of the crown of Denmark. The town of Rostock made its submission at the same time to the Danish king, and acknowledged him for her sovereign. This transaction happened in 1300, and was owing to the advice of several of the nobility, and particularly of the two brothers of the family of Molcke, who, with the rest of the senate, had the intire government of this weak prince. Their intention was, to prevent the town of Rostock, after the death of Nicholas without issue male, from devolving to Henry the Lion of Mecklenburg, of whose superior abilities they were greatly jealous.

AND here again prince Nicholas shewed himself extremely weak; for, after he had yielded homage to Eric, king of Denmark, he changed his mind without any just cause, and took up arms against that prince; a step which proved fatal to him and to his subjects. He applied for assistance to his kinsmen, Henry the Lion of Mecklenburg, and Nicholas of Werle, but it was then too late. The town of Rostock in 1300, paid homage to the crown of Denmark, as hath been above-mentioned. This was a most agreeable event to the Danish king, who, in consequence thereof, granted the city very considerable privileges in favour of its commerce. But whether it be that king Eric did not observe the conditions under which the Rostockers had submitted to his crown, of which we find no mention; or whether luxury and riches had rendered the citizens wanton, they disobeyed that prince's orders in 1310, by assisting the city of Wismar in its rebellion against Henry the Lion of Mecklenburg. About the same time, they refused to admit king Eric into the town, which, indeed, was renouncing all subjection to that prince. The consequences of that revolt, have been already related at large *, in the reign of Henry the Lion. As for Nicholas, he was so grieved at the behaviour of the Rostockers, that he was taken ill in 1314, and died of chagrin, leaving an only daughter behind him, named Elizabeth, who

* P. 144, 145.

was married to Christian, count of Oldenburg. For want of issue male, his principality fell to Henry the Lion, prince of Mecklenburg*.

III. Of the princely line of WENDEN, or lords of WERLE.

NICHOLAS IV. was the second son of Henry Burevinus II. and had, for his share, the principality of Wenden, the only part of the whole country that has preserved the name of the ancient inhabitants. This principality, in the beginning, consisted only of that portion thereof which lies to the east, but was enlarged by Nicholas, upon paying his brother Pribislaus's ransom, whereby he acquired the towns of Plaue and Goldberg. Parchim, which then went to the counts of Schwerin, devolved soon after to this line of Werle. He fixed his residence at Gustrow; but, on account of the great town of Werle, which had formerly stood in that neighbourhood, he was distinguished by the title of lord of Werle, which continued to his posterity. His administration lasted forty years, viz. from 1237 to 1277. He was a prince of a very chearful disposition, had a great fund of wit and humour, but, at the same time, was prudent and circumspect, as well as zealously attached to the Christian religion. His prudence he displayed on several occasions, but particularly in the disputes with the neighbouring princes concerning the boundaries; on which occasion he always extricated himself with honour. At an assembly held by several of those princes, for settling the limits, he once was threatened with violence, unless he would resign his right. But the prudent Nicholas, foreseeing their design, had taken the precaution to post a number of armed men in sight, who, upon a signal given, rushed in upon the assembly, and rescued their master. One of the first acts of his administration was, the finishing of the great church of Gustrow, which had been begun some time before by his father. He likewise enlarged the city of Gustrow with the Neustad, or new town; in consequence of which, the old

* Crantzius, Peterfen, Huitfeld, Chemnitz, Latomus, Bacmeister, Korner, Kirchberg, Beehr, Hubner, Spener, Kluver, Buckholtz.

town went to decay, and is now no more than a village. He likewise endowed it with the third part of its privileges. The town of Schwan was also built by him; and he favoured the little towns of Robel and Malchow with the laws of Schwerin, and the town of Penzlin with those of Lubeck.

THESE were his chief acts in peace; in war he was also celebrated, having long contended with the neighbouring princes in support of his rights. But his chief dispute was with the margrave of Brandenburg. He had been so long at the court, and in the armies of that prince, that the latter began to consider him as a vassal, and to encroach upon his territories. Nicholas boldly maintained his rights against the whole power of the margrave. These disputes were carried on with alternate success, and his country had often the fate of being over-run and plundered by the enemy. The consequence was, that the lord of Werle found himself frequently obliged to purchase peace on such conditions as the conqueror pleased to impose, which, by some, are construed into a kind of vassalage. This opinion is farther confirmed by a passage of Crantzius*. But this has been interpreted, by several other writers, in a more favourable sense, and to them we refer the reader †. We may safely conclude, he was a prince of great abilities in peace and war, one of the best soldiers and politicians of his time, and one that deserves an honourable rank among the princes of his illustrious family.

HIS first wife was Judith, a princess of the house of Anhalt, by whom he had four sons; Henry I. surnamed the Elder; John I. the Pacific; Bernard I. and Henning I. of whom, Bernard became a Dominican friar, and Henning died without issue; the two eldest continued the line. By this same lady he had also two princesses, Hedwig and Judith; the first of whom was married to John II. margrave of Brandenburg Anhalt; the second to prince Albert, son of John the Divine, of Mecklen-

* *Marchiones Brandenburgenses insigni tunc Electuræ principatu Wandaliæ principes suos habuere Satellites. Vestem illis curialem, quo modo domesticis, misere. Crantz. Vandal.*

† See Bechr, Kluver, Buckholtz, &c.

burg. By his second wife, a countess of Schwerin, but whose name is unknown, he had no issue. The two brothers, Henry I. the Elder, and John I. the Pacific, succeeded their father by a joint regency; at least, this is extremely probable, as in all public affairs they appear to have acted in concert; and, in their diplomas, there is always a joint subscription. They had very great contests with their cousins of Mecklenburg, with regard to the guardianship of the minor princes of Mecklenburg and Rostock. The first dispute of this kind, was in their father's life-time, when, in the absence of Henry of Jerusalem, they would fain have the tuition and direction of his children, while the uncle of the young princes, John of Gadebusch, claimed the same right. But they missed their aim. The other dispute was with Henry of Mecklenburg, with regard to the guardianship of Nicholas the Boy, of Rostock. And here they carried their point; but there was not so much danger in this as in the former case. These disputes were productive of hostilities; during which the Brandenburgers broke into the country of Mecklenburg, and committed great ravages.

JOHN I. died before his brother in 1289; and, by his wife Sophia, the countess of Ruppín, he left four sons, Nicholas VI. and John II. who succeeded him; Gunther, Henry III. and Bernard II. who entered into holy orders; and Henning II. who went in search of military adventures.

FOR what reason Henry I. was called the Elder, is obvious; but how his brother John I. came to be surnamed the Pacific, when he was always quarrelling, is not so easy to conjecture. It may be said, that he was engaged in those broils against his will; but the contrary appears from history; for no one obliged him to set up his unjust pretensions to the guardianship of the princes of Mecklenburg, which brought on a civil war, and a great effusion of Christian blood. With greater probability it may be said, it was customary, at that time, to give surnames to princes upon their accession to the regency, without ever considering whether those surnames might be adapted to their future conduct.

HENRY

HENRY I. or the Elder, was murdered in 1291, as we have mentioned at large, pag. 117. by his two unnatural sons, Henry and Nicholas. He married 1. a princess of Rugen, named Helen, by whom he had two sons, Henry II. and Nicholas V. 2. Matilda of Luneburg, who died without issue. 3. Anastasia of Pomerania, by whom he had a third son, named Barnim. By his first wife, he is said to have had also a daughter, named Rixa, who was married to Albert, duke of Brunswick.

UPON the death of their father, the parricides (for so they were afterwards called) Henry II. and Nicholas V. wanted to share the principality of Wenden with their two cousins, Nicholas VI. and John II. the elder sons of John I. the Pacific. But in this they met with great opposition from their cousins; and the consequence of this dispute was a civil war; the particulars of which we have given, pag. 117, 118. Those impious wretches were driven into banishment, and died miserably, both without issue. Their territories were seized by their cousins, Nicholas VI. and John II. and by Henry the Lion. The parricides had still a brother living, named Barnim, who became abbot of Colbatz, and provost of Camin.

NICHOLAS VI. and John II. or the Elder, took possession of the lordship of Werle, which they held jointly, at first, at Gutfrow. Nicholas VI. died in 1316. They had four more brothers, Gunther, Henning II. Bernard II. and Henry III. Henning went in search of military adventures; the other three entered into holy orders. Nicholas VI. granted many privileges, fought many battles with the neighbouring princes, and concluded a treaty of succession with his cousins of Mecklenburg.

AFTER his decease, his brother John II. was so unfortunate as to join with the margrave of Brandenburg in the war of 1317, between that prince and Henry the Lion of Mecklenburg, on account of the principality of Stargard; the particulars of which war have been already related at length†. John II. was taken prisoner, and obliged to pay a very considerable sum for his ransom.

† P. 152, 153.

After this he entered into a treaty of alliance with his brother's sons and the duke of Pomerania in 1321, to support the cause of Christopher II. king of Denmark. Henry the Lion joined in that alliance in 1326. For the particulars of this war, we refer the reader to the preceding chapter*.

JOHN II. had afterwards some disputes in 1330, with regard to the guardianship of the sons of Henry the Lion of Mecklenburg. This prince had not nominated him to any such trust in his will; yet he gained his point, and died in 1337. Concerning this guardianship, the reader will find a further account in the next book; we shall only observe here, that the rest of the guardians pacified him, or satisfied his demands with a sum of money. By his wife Matilda of Pomerania, he left issue, 1. Bernard III. 2. Nicholas VIII. 3. Sophia. 4. A daughter, whose name is unknown. His daughter Sophia was married to Barnim IV. duke of Pomerania; and the other died a nun in the convent of Dobbertin.

His brother Nicholas VI. had by his wife Rixa of Denmark, 1. Nicholas VII. who died young. 2. Henning III. 3. John III. 4. Sophia, married to prince Eric of Sweden. 5. Rixa, married to Eric, duke of Sleswick. 6. Margaret, married to Rudolphus, duke of Saxe-Lawenburg.

THE following princes, Bernard and Nicholas, the two sons of John II; and Henning and John, the two sons of Nicholas VI. divided their paternal inheritance. Bernard III. resided at Robel; Nicholas VIII. at Wredenhagen; Henning III. at Stavenhagen; and John III. at Goldberg. Henning III. of Stavenhagen, died in 1338, and bequeathed his share to his brother John III. of Goldberg, leaving no issue by his wife Matilda of Pomerania.

The line of
Goldberg.

THE other three brothers entered into a treaty of succession in 1351, with their cousins of Mecklenburg. This was a very prudent step in the princes of Werle, as their cousins of Mecklenburg, by being made members of the empire, were become subject to the head of the Germanic body, which, upon the

* P. 170, 171.

extinc-

extinction of the male line of several princely families, had often taken advantage to seize the succession, in prejudice to the next heirs. Instances of this had been seen in the reign of Rodolphus of Habsburg, and Lewis of Bavaria. But little did the princes of Werle foresee that their own line was to be the soonest extinct.

JOHN III. of Goldberg died not long after this treaty of succession, and left behind him, by his wife Matilda of Saxe-Lawenburg, a son named Nicholas IX. Another son of his, named John IV. died before his father, viz. in 1348, without issue by his wife Richardis, a princess of Luneburg. His daughters were, 1. Sophia, married to Albert, count of Ruppín and Lindau. 2. Elizabeth, abbess of Dobbertin. 3. Matilda, or Margaret, wife of Otho, count of Schwerin; she died in 1356.

NICHOLAS IX. died soon after his father, viz. in 1354, and left by his wife Agnes, countess of Ruppín and Lindau, a son named John VII. in whom the line of Goldberg expired in 1376. The other children of Nicholas IX. were Henning IV. who died in 1362. Agnes, married to her cousin John V. of Waren; and Matilda, married to her cousin Lawrence, of Gustrow.

BERNARD III. of Robel, and Nicholas VIII. of Wredenhagen, continued their lines the longest. In 1354, they entered into an alliance with the margrave of Brandenburg, Lewis the Roman, of the house of Bavaria. This was made with a view to counteract the connection between the emperor Charles IV. and his new vassals, the dukes of Mecklenburg: but it was not of long continuance. Nicholas VIII. died in 1360, and left behind him, by his wife Agnes of Holstein, two sons, John VI. who married Euphemia, daughter of John I. duke of Mecklenburg Stargard, and died without issue in 1377; and Lawrence. By his second wife, Agnes of Mecklenburg, he had a daughter named Catharine, married to Albert, duke of Saxe-Lawenburg.

BERNARD, of Robel, died in 1378, and had by his wife Elizabeth of Holstein, a son named John V. who resided at

Waren. He had likewise two daughters, Merislava, who was a nun at Eldena; and Matilda, the wife of Henry Suspenfor, duke of Mecklenburg.

JOHN V. married his aunt Agnes, daughter of Nicholas IX. of Goldberg, and died in 1400. He left behind him two sons, Christopher and Nicholas X. He had also another son, named Vivian, who died young; and a daughter named Merislava, who was abbess of Quedlinburg.

NICHOLAS X. married Sophia of Pomerania, and died in 1408, without issue.

CHRISTOPHER espoused the countess of Ruppín, by whom he had one son, named John VIII. and a daughter, named Judith. The son died young before him; what became of the daughter is not known; but Christopher himself breathed his last in 1425, and with him ended his line.

The line of
Wredenhagen or Gustrow.

LAWRENCE, of Gustrow, died in 1395, and left by his wife Matilda, daughter of his cousin Nicholas IX. of Goldberg, three sons, Balthasar, William, and John IX. He had likewise had another son, Nicholas XI. who died young before his father; and two daughters, Euphemia, who died young; and Agnes, a nun at Malchin.

BALTHASAR having entered into an alliance with his cousin Christopher, and the margrave of Brandenburg, against his cousins the dukes of Mecklenburg, began the war in 1414. But in 1415 he was defeated, and his cousin Christopher taken prisoner. He died in 1421, without issue, though he had been thrice married. His first wife was Agnes, of Pomerania; the second Euphemia, of Mecklenburg, daughter of duke Magnus I. and the third Hedwig, of Holstein.

His brother John IX. died before him in 1414. His wife was Catharine, of Saxe-Lawenburg, afterwards married to John VII. duke of Mecklenburg.

THERE remained now of the once numerous house of Werle, only prince William, who had been formerly provost of the great church of Gustrow. He was twice married, 1. to Anne,
of

of Anhalt. 2. To Sophia, of Pomerania. By his former wife he had an only daughter, Catharine, who was married to Ulric II. duke of Mecklenburg-Stargard. This prince dying in 1436, without male issue, the principality of Wenden, or Werle, by virtue of the treaty of succession, fell to the elder branch of the house of Mecklenburg *.

* Huitfeld, Crantzius, Marthal, Chemnitz, Corner, Latomus, Spener, Bacmeister, Nettlebladt, Kluver, Hubner, Beehr, Buckholtz.

The END of the THIRD BOOK.

B b 2

T H E

THE
HISTORY
OF
VANDALIA.

BOOK IV.

Of the DUKES of MECKLENBURG, from
ALBERT I. to HENRY the Fat, viz.
from 1329 to 1423.

WE are now arrived at the memorable æra of the union of the principality of Mecklenburg with the Roman empire; an æra which, perhaps, constitutes the most shining period of the present history. During this period, the illustrious princes of this serene house carried their arms into different parts of the empire; supported the tottering crown on the head of the Germanic body; invaded Denmark with powerful fleets; ascended the throne of Sweden; acquired just claims to the succession of Denmark; and, in short, by means of their alliances, good policy, and valour, bid fair for attaining the intire sovereignty of the north of Europe. From what causes such extraordinary grandeur and power arose, will be fully explained in the course of this Book.

CHAP.



FREDERICK, II.
Duke of Mecklenburg Schwerin.

Joseph Collyer sculp.

C H A P. I.

A L B E R T I.

The first DUKE of MECKLENBURG.

From 1329 to 1379.

EMPERORS of GERMANY,

LEWIS V.	-	-	1314.
CHARLES IV.	-	-	1347.
WENCESLAUS	-	-	1378.

KINGS of ENGLAND,

EDWARD III.	-	-	1327.
RICHARD II.	-	-	1377.

Conduct of the guardians of prince Albert and his brother. Affairs of Denmark. Prince Albert's minority expires, and he espouses the princess of Sweden. Affairs of Denmark continued. Prince Albert applies to Sweden for his wife's dower. He is taken prisoner by count Gunther of Schwartzenburg, but is soon released. He enters into a compact of succession with the other princes of his family. Quarrel between the pope and the emperor Lewis of Bavaria. Charles IV. raised to the imperial throne. The princes of Mecklenburg join in the confederacy against Lewis of Bavaria. Prince John of Mecklenburg accompanies Charles IV. into France. Battle of Cressy. Death of Lewis of Bavaria. Stargard declared a fief of the empire. Story of the impostor Waldemar. Prince Albert and his brother created dukes of Mecklenburg.

THE death of Henry the Lion, like the setting of a resplendent sun, seemed to be the forerunner of a gloom, which threatened to overspread the whole country of Mecklenburg. The jealousy of the neighbouring states, and the ambition of the princes his kinsmen, were circumstances that boded no

1329.
Conduct of
the guar-
dians.

good to the minority of the two young princes, Albert and John. For the greater security of the state, Henry had directed by his will, that his sons should be under the guardianship of two of the nobility *, assisted by the magistrates of Wismar and Rostock. Prince John of Werle apprehend that he had a right to oppose this measure, as contrary to the custom of the Mecklenburg family. But Henry thought it more prudent, in so important an affair, to trust the states, than his cousin, with whom he had been so long at variance. It does not appear, that the guardians ever abused the confidence which had been reposed in them by their late sovereign ; unless it be by instilling into the minds of the young princes such an affection for their subjects, as induced them to enlarge their privileges. But this is considered by many as rather a proof of their good sense, and sincere regard to the true interest of their pupils.

First acts of
the regency.

SOME historians, however, have charged them with three capital mistakes ; the first, in suffering the princely domains to be alienated ; the second, in persuading their pupils to pay homage to the elector of Brandenburg, for the dukedom of Stargard ; and the third, in permitting the depredations and outrages of the gentry and nobility to pass with impunity. As to the alienation, it was certainly owing to the long wars of Henry III. in which he expended great sums ; and to raise the money, made no difficulty of alienating, at divers times, a considerable part of his domains. He died, notwithstanding, greatly in debt, and the creditors insisted upon having security for their just demands. With regard to the paying of homage on account of Stargard, it was a measure which the guardians were no longer able to prevent ; for Lewis, of Bavaria, had taken possession of the electorate of Brandenburg, and was supported by the emperor his father, and by his father-in-law, the king of Denmark. With three such formidable powers, the guardians were unable to contend ; and supposing they had declared war against Brandenburg, they had neither the authority nor

* There is no certainty, at present, with regard to their names ; some conjecture Otho, of Dewitz, to have been one of them.

the confidence of the people to support them ; whereas Henry, by that confidence, had been always enabled to triumph over his enemies. It was, therefore, more advisable to chuse a lesser than to subject the princes to a greater, inconveniency. And lastly, as to the infamous practice of making depredations upon the public, it was so deeply rooted among the nobility, that even the most powerful monarchs were unable, till towards the sixteenth century, to suppress it.

WERE there, in fact, any fault to be found with the administration, during this prince's minority, it might be imputed to Henry himself, in appointing guardians of two different orders, equestrian and plebeian. For men whose quality and condition in life, place them at such a distance from each other, are seldom known to agree in their opinions ; and public affairs must, generally speaking, be but ill conducted, when the power is divided between persons, who look on each other with an eye of jealousy and envy. Besides, he was to blame for not nominating his cousin, the prince of Werle, a kind of assistant to the guardians, in order to advise and direct them on any emergency. Such a measure would have gained that prince's confidence ; and by thus inspecting into each other's conduct, they would have avoided many errors. Prince John might have been content with such a power ; and had the guardians, of their own accord, submitted to this inspection, it would have been an argument of their prudence and moderation. But they declined acting in conjunction with that prince, and proposed to give him three thousand marks of silver to desist from his pretension. The prince accepted their offer in 1330 ; and the affair being thus compromised, he left every thing afterwards to their direction. To raise this money, the princely residence, or palace of Wismar, was sold to that city, as appears by the diploma dated at Wismar in 1329. With regard to the equity of this conduct, it is a difficult matter, at this distance of time, to come to any just determination.

1330.

IN the very commencement of this regency, prince Albert paid homage for the city of Rostock to Christopher II. king of

1329.

1330.

of Denmark; and received the investiture of the principality of Stargard, with its appendages, from Lewis the Elder, margrave of Brandenburg. The year following he ratified the right of patronage, which the monastery of Eldena had over the parochial church of Grabow. And as a mark of his gratitude to the magistrates of Rostock, for the care they had taken of his education, he favoured that city with the right of appeals (*jus appellationis*) and the patronage of the public schools. At this same period, his guardians undertook to build the monastery of Ribbenitz, which was soon completed. They afterwards applied to pope John XXI. or XXII. for a confirmation of the right of patronage, which Henry the Lion, the founder of that monastery, had granted to the abbey church; accordingly, they obtained their request, and the church was consecrated by John I. bishop of Schwerin*.

1331.
Affairs of
Denmark.

THIS year a dispute arose between Gerard, count of Holstein, and John, earl of Wagria, which involved Denmark in a war, the flames whereof spread to many of the neighbouring states. Christopher, king of Denmark, espoused the party of John, to whom he owed his crown and kingdom. Both sides began to levy forces, in order to decide the contest by the sword. Gerard, having assembled his whole army, came up with the king's troops in the plains of Lohede, not far from Sleswick. After a most obstinate engagement, the Danish army was totally defeated: the king's son Eric, endeavouring to save himself by flight, fell from his horse; and was so bruised by his fall, that he died a few days after in the town of Kiel. Otho, Christopher's second son, as well as a great number of the nobility, were taken prisoners; and Gerard himself was wounded, and thrown from his horse in the heat of the action. The ill success of this day obliged Christopher to conclude a peace on the terms of the conqueror, which were more moderate than he could have expected. The peace was signed at Kiel; and Albert, prince of Mecklenburg, was included amongst the other allies and confederates of the king.

1332.

* Crantzius, Chemnitz, Latomus, Beehr.

The year following died Christopher, king of Denmark, of grief and vexation, and left his kingdom so weakened by intestine divisions, that an interregnum of seven years ensued *.

1333.

Soon after this event, a war broke out between the margrave of Brandenburg and Barnim III. duke of Stettin, in which prince John III. of Gustrow, who had espoused Matilda, the daughter of duke Barnim II. happened to be involved. Prince John having marched to the assistance of the Pomeranians, both armies met in the neighbourhood of Cremmerdam in the Middle-Marck; upon which there followed a sharp engagement, and the Brandenburgers were totally defeated †.

1334.
War between
Brandenburg
and Pomerania.

PRINCE Albert having now attained to years of maturity, his guardians thought it a proper time to look out for a consort worthy of their sovereign. With this intention, they cast their eye on princess Euphemia, sister of Magnus Schmeck, king of Sweden, the most powerful prince in the north. Their aim was to strengthen the interest of their pupil by this alliance, in which, indeed, they so far succeeded, that the family of Mecklenburg was thereby raised to the throne of Sweden. The marriage treaty being settled, the princess Euphemia was conducted this year to the city of Rostock, where the nuptials were celebrated with great pomp, Eric, duke of Saxony, and many other princes being present. The ceremony over, the guardians resigned the administration into the hands of prince Albert. His younger brother, prince John, was not yet of age; and as he intended to spend some time in foreign travel, it was agreed, that Albert should have the sole power and authority during his absence.

1336.
Marriage of
prince Al-
bert.

PRINCE Albert began his administration with joining his cousins of Werle against the public banditti, who were become so outrageous, that it was absolutely necessary to repress their insolence; and a neglect of this kind had been censured in his guardians. Albert was a prince of considerable power and authority; yet we find a great part of his life employed in endeavouring to extirpate the free-booters. The public, however,

He suppresses
the outrages
of the banditti.

* Pontan. Mallet.

† Beehr, Franck.

were much indebted to him for so laudable an undertaking, in which he had all the success that could be expected in so barbarous an age. One chief obstruction to his design was, that several princely castles were mortgaged to such of the gentry and nobility as, to the disgrace of Christianity and good government, supported themselves by such depredations. These he took measures to redeem, though it proved a work of some difficulty and time.

1336.
He pays a
visit to the
king of Swe-
den.

THIS same year, Magnus, king of Sweden, brother-in-law of prince Albert, was married to Blanche, daughter of the count of Namur; and, upon the death of his guardian, the famous Kettlemunson, the king took into his own hands the reins of government. Prince Albert thought this a proper opportunity for paying a visit to the Swedish monarch; and lest any disturbance should happen in his absence, he entered into a treaty with the princes of Werle, to act, with their joint forces, in suppressing the banditti. Having settled affairs to his satisfaction, he took shipping for Sweden the twenty-fifth of June, in company with his consort; the sons of Rudolphus, duke of Saxony; Gerard, count of Holstein; and several other princes, and persons of the first quality. The queen of Sweden went to meet him at sea, and conducted him and his retinue to Calmar. There he staid five days, till he received an invitation from king Magnus to repair to Stockholm, where he was received by that monarch with all the cordiality of a sincere and ardent affection. During his stay in Sweden, he was entertained in the most sumptuous manner, and had the pleasure of assisting at the king and queen's coronation.

1337.
He grants
privileges to
his subjects.

UPON his return from Sweden, prince Albert being willing to demonstrate his affection to the city of Rostock, granted to the magistrates the right of patronage of the church of the virgin Mary, by a diploma dated at Wismar on the day of Pentecost, 1337. And the same year he published another diploma, confirming the sale of the villages of Slowe and Gustekowe, by which the three brothers of the family of Plessen, viz. Conrad, Ber-

Bernard, and Reyemar, had transferred the property of those places to Henry II. bishop of Lubeck.

DURING this interval, the depredations of the banditti were still continued in several parts of Germany, to such a degree, that commercial intercourse, and the security of travellers, were almost intirely at an end. To the increase of this licentiousness, the Danish war, and the following interregnum, had greatly contributed. The Hanse towns being chiefly affected by these outrages, had recourse to arms in their own defence; but finding themselves unable to quell those robbers of the public, they applied to the other princes and states of Upper and Lower Saxony, imploring their assistance. For this purpose, an assembly was held at Lubeck, at which were present the dukes of Brunswick and Luneburg; the dukes of Stettin and Wolgast; the duke of Saxe-Lawenburg; the margrave of Brandenburg; the counts of Holstein, Schwerin, and Wittenburg; the princes of Mecklenburg and Werle; the archbishop of Bremen; the bishops of Lubeck, Verden, Brandenburg, Schwerin, Ratzeburg, and Havelburg; with the deputies of Hamburg, Wismar, Stralfund, Gripswald, and other cities. Here they entered into a negotiation for restoring the public tranquillity, and securing the commerce of that part of Germany. A treaty, at length, was signed in the most solemn manner, under the penalty of death to such as should presume to infringe the public peace. At the same time, the sentence of perpetual ban and proscription was pronounced against every prince, or state, that should harbour or encourage any of those disturbers of the public repose; and orders were given, under severe penalties, to seize the transgressors, and bring them to condign punishment.

AT this assembly was present Nicholas the Stammerer, prince of Gustrow, who had been some time enamoured of princess Agnes, the daughter of Henry the Lion, prince of Mecklenburg. Her brother, prince Albert, consented, at length, to the match, and the nuptials were celebrated in the city of Lubeck, at the time of this splendid assembly. In consequence

1338.
Assembly at
Lubeck.

Marriage of
prince Al-
bert's sister
to the prince
of Gustrow.

sequence of this marriage, the good understanding between the princes of Mecklenburg and Werle, which had been for some time interrupted, was now renewed, and an alliance ensued, by which they bound themselves to a mutual guarantee of each others dominions. The Lubeckers availed themselves of this opportunity of festivity and mirth, to acquire new favour with prince Albert, who, indeed, had a particular affection for that city: as a farther demonstration of his good-will, he confirmed all the liberties and privileges which they had obtained of his ancestors, and which they enjoyed in the country of Mecklenburg, by means of their extensive commerce *.

1340.
Affairs of
Denmark.

DENMARK, at this time, was rent by intestine wars and commotions; Gerard, count of Holstein, and his nephew Waldemar, duke of Sleswick, having usurped the government, in prejudice to the lawful heirs of the late king Christopher. These were Otho and Waldemar, the eldest of whom had endeavoured to assert his right, soon after his father's decease, by the assistance of his brother-in-law, the margrave of Brandenburg. Having collected a considerable body of forces, he marched into Jutland, in hopes of driving count Gerard out of that province. Gerard went to meet him, and an engagement ensued at Tappenhode, in the neighbourhood of Wiburg, where Otho's army was intirely defeated. The prince himself being taken prisoner, was sent to the castle of Segeberg, and remained there a long time in confinement. Waldemar, his younger brother, was then at the court of the emperor, Lewis of Bavaria, who had undertaken the care of that young prince's education. In the mean while the Danes were so disgusted with the administration of the usurpers, that they rose up in arms, and count Gerard, surnamed the Great, was assassinated by Nicholas Noreris, a Danish nobleman, who chose this method of rescuing his country from a foreign yoke. In consequence of this bold action, the Danes recovered their liberty, and elected Waldemar, Christopher's second son, for their sovereign. To this election the emperor Lewis, at whose court Waldemar had received his

* Crantzius, Latomus, Chemnitz, Beehr, Buckholtz, Franck.

education,

education, greatly contributed. He summoned a congress at Spandaw, in the marquisate of Brandenburg, where Lewis of Brandenburg, Barnim of Pomerania, Henry, John, and Nicholas, sons of the above-mentioned Gerard of Holstein, with several other princes, were present. Here it was agreed with Waldemar, duke of Sleswick, that Otho, Christopher's son, should be released from his confinement, upon condition of resigning his right to the crown to his brother Waldemar; and that the latter should marry the duke of Sleswick's sister, and receive for her portion, twenty-four thousand marks. The same year another assembly was convened at Lubeck, to confirm this treaty; after which Waldemar, the third of that name, took possession of his dominions. At this assembly was present among others, Albert, prince of Mecklenburg, who had affairs of consequence depending about this time, which obliged him to pay a second visit to Sweden*.

NOTWITHSTANDING that Albert had married the princess Euphemia, of Sweden, with the consent of her brother king Magnus, he had not been, as yet, able to obtain her dower. After several fruitless applications by proxy, he resolved to pay another visit to Sweden, in order to settle this matter with his royal brother-in-law. This expedition produced the desired effect; and his arguments had such weight with king Magnus, that the latter made over to him the castles of Schauer and Falsterbode, for his sister's dower; and farther agreed, to pay him the annual sum of two hundred marks of silver. Affairs being thus adjusted, the king of Sweden persuaded prince Albert to undertake an embassy, in his name, to the emperor, Lewis of Bavaria. The nature of this commission is not well known; some imagine it to have had a tendency towards concluding a new treaty of alliance; and others suppose it to have related to some marriage contract. Be that as it may, Albert, to oblige his brother-in-law, undertook the negotiation, in the conducting of which he had great difficulties and dangers to encounter.

1340.
Prince Albert applies to Sweden for his wife's dower.

* Huitfeldt, Mallet.

1341.
He undertakes a commission from the king of Sweden to the emperor,

is taken prisoner by the count of Schwartzburg,

but is soon released.

GERMANY, at that time, was in a state of anarchy and confusion, the emperor Lewis having quarrelled with the pope, and incurred the sentence of a pontifical anathema. Each party having its adherents, great disorders ensued, and the public tranquillity was generally interrupted. In this situation, it was an arduous attempt for prince Albert to concern himself in a commission which required his personal attendance on the emperor; and, consequently, obliged him to traverse the states of several disaffected princes. Notwithstanding these difficulties, he set out upon his expedition with great intrepidity, but was unluckily taken prisoner in Thuringia, not far from the castle of Blankenburg, by Gunther, count of Schwartzburg. From thence he was removed to Rhanis, and detained in close custody. What motive could have induced the count to commit this act of violence against so respectable a prince, remains doubtful to this day; some impute it to an old grudge against the Mecklenburg family, this very Gunther having been taken prisoner at the battle of Granfoy, by prince Albert's father. Others attributing it to a motive of policy, suppose that count Gunther intended to bring prince Albert under subjection to the margrave Lewis, of Brandenburg, in order to oblige him to restore the lordship of Stargard for his ransom. But had that been really the case, the emperor Lewis would not have espoused prince Albert's cause, and obliged the count to set him at liberty. However, this was not effected without going to war, a melancholy instance of the confusion of those times, and the dangerous consequences of anarchy and licentiousness. The count having disobeyed the emperor's order, the margrave of Misnia, and the magistrates of the city of Erfurt, who had entertained prince Albert magnificently in his passage, had recourse to arms in compliance with the emperor's commission. Their forces soon entered the count's territories, where they took some castles, and committed such ravages, as obliged the count, at length, to release his prisoner. Upon which prince Albert continued his journey, and waited upon the emperor, who was then

then at Meran in Carinthia, where he settled every thing to the satisfaction of his brother-in-law, the king of Sweden; and the prince returned in safety, at length, to his own dominions.

His study, from this time forward, was to promote the welfare of his subjects, and to establish a good correspondence with the other princes of his family. With this design, he had lately effected a reconciliation between the towns of New Brandenburg and Demmin, which had been sometime at variance. The cause of their quarrel is not mentioned: we shall only observe in general, that in those tumultuous times, whenever the towns, or the nobility, could not compromise their respective disputes, they had recourse to the sword; the sovereign did not intermeddle, till he perceived there was some danger of diminishing his power, or, a part of his subjects were considerable sufferers; then he either assisted the weaker side, or enforced a peace by the interposition of his authority.

A COOLNESS had, for some time, subsisted between the princes of Mecklenburg and their cousins of Werle, which was now not only removed, but a new treaty was entered upon, for jointly asserting their rights to several districts in the duchy of Pomerania. We have already observed, that prince Henry the Lion and his cousins, had seized the towns of Bart, Grimm, and Tribbuses, in the upper part of the principality of Rugen, but restored them again for thirty-one thousand marks of silver. Their pretensions to those places were grounded, partly on king Christopher's note, or obligation, and partly on the claims of the bishops of Schwerin, derived from a donation of the dukes John and Albert, of Saxe-Lawenburg. But the money not having been paid according to agreement, the princes of Werle renewed their claims upon the above-mentioned towns, and received the investiture thereof from the bishop of Schwerin. Prince Albert then marched an army into Pomerania, and laid siege to Grimm. The town made a gallant defence; but, at length, was obliged to surrender on the eve of St. Matthew, 1343, and prince Albert restored it to his cousins. Notwithstanding,

1340.
He reconciles
the towns of
New Brand-
enburg and
Demmin.

1343.
Prince Al-
bert con-
cludes a
treaty with
the princes
of Werle.

War with
Pomerania.

standing the season was so far advanced, he turned his arms against the banditti, in conjunction with Henry, count of Schwerin, and demolished many of their castles, or places of retreat, in the county of Wittenburg and Ratzeburg. This expedition being over, he built a castle, called Bethowe, in the territory of Ratzeburg, which the bishop of that city, Wibert a Blucher, a pious well-meaning man, looked upon as an encroachment on his diocese. After he had applied, in vain, to prince Albert, for a removal of what, in reality, was a protection to the country, he waited upon the prince himself, as he stood encircled with his officers, and spoke to him as follows :
 “ Listen, O prince, and all ye who are present, to the word of
 “ God. The Lord, through the merits of his servant Ludol-
 “ phus, our predecessor, raised your house and family, O prince
 “ Albert, to a high pitch of glory, so that you have surpassed
 “ many of your equals in riches, honours, and dominions.
 “ And now, since I perceive your ingratitude to the divine
 “ goodness, and to his saint, I will conform to the orders of
 “ the most high ; and, instead of a blessing, will pronounce my
 “ curse against you ; and God will hear the prayers of his poor
 “ afflicted servant.” These words he uttered in so awful and
 terrible a tone, that the prince was struck with surprize ; and, as if he had heard the voice of an angel, desisted from his enterprise.

THERE cannot be a more striking example of the superstition and bigotry that enslaved the minds of men in this ignorant age, than that a prince should relinquish a design of public utility, through a pusillanimous fear of the anathemas denounced by a priest. How much more noble was the behaviour of Cæsar, who, when his whole army was awe-struck, and none of his men would venture to cut down a wood, because it had the reputation of being sacred, snatched up an axe, and himself set an example which dispelled the superstitious terror of his soldiers !

THE subsequent year, prince Albert undertook an expedition against the province of Lawenburg, and made himself master of

of the castle of Derfing, which belonged to the family of Scharfemberg. On St. Martin's day he took the town of Ratzeburg, and set it on fire; duke Otho, of Saxe-Lawenburg, being unable to meet him in the field. This same year, Henry, bishop of Schwerin, despairing of success in his pretensions to a part of the principality of Rugen, made over his right to the town and district of Bart to prince Albert and his brother, and conferred the investiture of Tribbuses on their cousins, the princes of Werle. This was done with the consent of the dean and chapter of Schwerin; only a reserve was made of the town and district of Stralsund, which were to be perpetually annexed to the aforesaid bishopric. These transactions gave rise to a war between the Mecklenburghers and Pomeranians, in which great ravages were committed on the frontiers, and the commerce of the trading cities was totally interrupted. Hereupon the inhabitants of Wismar, Parchim, and Gustrow, interposed, in order to bring about an accommodation, or, at least, a cessation of arms. For this purpose a congress was held at Gnoyen, on the frontiers, whither the dukes of Pomerania and princes of Mecklenburg sent their deputies. This congress was not quite ineffectual, since an armistice took place till prince John should be out of his minority.

IN the mean time, prince Albert of Mecklenburg being desirous of strengthening himself by a closer connection with the other princes of his family, had an interview with them at Gustrow, where they all entered into a compact of inheritance, and settled the succession to their respective dominions. So that in failure of issue male in any of the lines, their territories should devolve to the surviving branch. The states of the country were summoned on this occasion, and engaged by a solemn oath to observe this family compact. Nicholas, count of Schwerin, acceded to the above treaty, and confirmed the expectancy he had already granted to prince Albert, of the towns of Boitzenburg, Wittenburg, (others say Schwerin) and Crivitz; on the other hand, the princes of Mecklenburg favoured him with the expectancy of Grevesmuhlen.

1345.
Compact of
inheritance
between the
princes of
Mecklen-
burg.

Such were the early steps that prince Albert took to strengthen and aggrandize his family, when the disturbances of the German empire called him to a higher scene of action, where both he and his brother shone with the greatest dignity and lustre *.

1346.
Quarrel between the pope and the emperor Lewis of Bavaria.

ABOUT this time, the old dissensions between the church and the empire were revived with great animosity, and all Germany was divided into different factions. Lewis of Bavaria having undertaken an expedition into Italy in 1326, in order to strengthen the imperial party, made some progress at first; but the sentence of excommunication, which had been pronounced against him by the see of Rome, hindered him from crushing the Guelfic confederates. In this situation things continued for some time, many of the German and Italian states siding with the pope, and others with the emperor; when pope Benedict II. dying at Avignon in 1342, was succeeded by Clement VI. a native of France. The former sentences of excommunication were confirmed by this pontiff, who excited all Italy to rebel against the emperor. Lewis, in vain, endeavoured to be reconciled to the see of Rome: Clement prescribed such unreasonable conditions, as the head of the empire could not with dignity accept. Those conditions he laid before the diets of Frankfort and Rentz, and they were rejected as derogatory to the independency of the Germanic body. Incensed at this refusal, the pope renewed the excommunication against Lewis, and sent directions to the electors to chuse another emperor within a time prescribed, otherwise he assured them he would nominate one by his apostolic authority. He then began to promote intrigues and divisions among the princes; particularly, he concluded an alliance with the king of Bohemia, and his son Charles, and with Baldwin, archbishop of Triers. The elector of Mentz, refusing to enter into this confederacy, was deposed by the pope, and Gerlac of Nassau substituted in his place. The latter convened an assembly of electors at Rentz, a village on the Rhine near Coblentz, where the empire was

The pope procures Charles IV. to be elected to the imperial crown, instead of Lewis.

* Crantzius, Chemnitz, Latomus, Beehr, Frank, Buckholtz.

declared

declared vacant by John, king of Bohemia; Baldwin, bishop of Triers; Gerlac, of Mentz; and by the electors of Cologne and Saxony. The revolted electors chose for emperor, Charles, margrave of Moravia, eldest son of John, king of Bohemia; and the pope approved of their choice.

THIS revolution was, indeed, in a great measure owing to the jealousy which several princes and states of Germany had conceived against the emperor, and against his son Lewis, the elder, margrave of Brandenburg. The former had deprived the house of Saxony, and the Ascanian branch, of the electorate of Brandenburg, to confer it on his son; and the latter had given great offence to all parties, by seducing the rich heiress of Tyrol, Margaret of Maultasch, to desert her husband, John, marquis of Moravia, son of John, king of Bohemia. Lewis, of Brandenburg, having lately buried his wife, Margaret, of Denmark, took to his arms and bed Margaret Maultasch, with the advice and approbation of his father. These, and other proceedings, had alienated the minds of many princes from the emperor; and induced them to enter into an alliance with John, king of Bohemia, against both the Lewis's, the father and son.

Confederacy
of princes
against Lewis
of Bavaria.

AMONG the rest of the confederates was Albert, prince of Mecklenburg, whose mother, as we have already observed, was Anne, daughter of Albert II. duke of Saxony. He strenuously adhered to the cause of his uncle Rudolphus I. elector of Saxony, who, with the rest of the Ascanian princes, bore an implacable aversion to Lewis of Brandenburg. In order to cement this alliance, prince Albert had convened an assembly of all the neighbouring princes at Lubeck, so early as 1345, under pretext of celebrating the carnival, a time devoted to festivity and mirth. There he entered into a league with Charles, son of king John of Bohemia; and concluded a treaty, at the same time, with Barnim III. duke of Stettin. But prince Albert had a particular view in espousing the Bohemian party against Lewis of Bavaria; this was, to annihilate the vassalage of Stargard, with respect to Brandenburg, and to render that province

They are
joined by the
princes of
Mecklen-
burg.

immediately dependent on the empire. The haughty behaviour of Lewis of Brandenburg, ever since his accession to the electorate, had rendered this a prudent measure in prince Albert, and the event sufficiently justified his conduct.

Prince John
of Mecklen-
burg attends
Charles IV.
into France.

NOTWITHSTANDING this schism in the Germanic body, the princes and states in the interest of Lewis, preserved their fidelity and attachment to the very last, so that the emperor still maintained his dignity and reputation. Charles, and his father, king John of Bohemia, who had now lost his sight, finding themselves unable to support their pretensions in Germany, undertook an expedition into France, in order to assist Philip of Valois, against Edward III. king of England. During the famous contest about the succession to the Gallic crown, Philip of Valois, and Edward III. had endeavoured to engage the princes of Germany in their quarrel; the former had the king of Bohemia on his side, and the latter most of the princes on the borders of France. Among those adventurers who accompanied the new elected emperor, Charles of Bohemia, on this expedition, was prince John of Mecklenburg, the younger brother of prince Albert. John, as we have before taken notice, had agreed to resign, for some time, the sole care of the government to his brother, in order to travel in foreign parts, where he might learn the rudiments of war; and, by observing the customs and manners of different countries, improve himself in politics, and the various arts of government. He had attended his uncle Rudolphus, duke of Saxony, to the late diet of election, where Charles was chosen emperor, in opposition to Lewis of Bavaria. Here he contracted a friendship and intimacy with that young prince; and, looking upon France as a proper theatre for displaying his courage, he resolved to attend the king of Bohemia, and his son, in that memorable expedition.

The battle of
Cressy.

THE king of Bohemia was slain at the battle of Cressy, which was fought on Saturday the twenty-sixth of August, 1346, and will be ever celebrated in the English annals. This prince, though blind, would be present at the engagement, causing his

his horse's bridle to be fastened to those of two gallant knights, who fell with him in the field. His standard was taken and brought to the prince of Wales: three ostrich feathers were embroidered on it in gold, with these words in German, Ich dien, that is, I serve: the prince, in memory of that day's success, bore three ostrich feathers in his coronet, with the same motto, which practice is still observed.

IN this memorable engagement, prince John of Mecklenburg gave signal proofs of his intrepidity and valour. Charles, the son of the blind king of Bohemia, having been surrounded by the enemy, prince John had the good fortune to rescue him out of their hands, and conduct him with safety from the field of battle. For which signal service he was ever after dear to Charles, who immediately created him a knight for his extraordinary valour. It is affirmed, by some, that this dignity was conferred on prince John, not only by Charles, who was now become king of Bohemia, but likewise by the French king, Philip of Valois.

Prince John of Mecklenburg distinguishes himself at this battle.

KNIGHTHOOD, or chivalry, was a military institution, founded in the eleventh century. In those times of anarchy and confusion, the great lords were become sovereigns on their own estates, and incessantly waged war with each other. These hostilities obstructed the security of the public roads, to the prejudice of commerce. The several districts were defended by moated castles and towers, which soon became nests of robbers and banditti, (of which frequent mention has occurred in this history) who committed violences against the fair sex, and plundered the unwary traveller. These enormous abuses produced an association of noblemen of a humane disposition, who engaged, and even vowed solemnly to maintain the security of the public roads, and to protect the ladies. The association is said to have begun in France, and soon spread throughout Europe. The members were stiled chevaliers, or knights; and, as their numbers increased, they formed themselves into a military, and, in some measure, religious order. The dignity of this institution was so very great, that the principal nobility, and even kings.

kings themselves, aspired to it. The candidates were obliged to prove their nobility, at least for three generations. At seven years of age they were sent to the house of some illustrious knight, in order to be educated in manly exercises, and trained up in the apprenticeship of chivalry: till they were fourteen years old, they went by the name of pages or varlets; but from that time they were stiled ecuyers, or esquires; and said to be *fortis hors de page*. The esquires were also distinguished by the name of *bas chevaliers*, or inferior knights; whence is derived our word bachelor. The function of the esquire, was to dress and undress his lord; to help him to mount his horse; to put on his armour; to carry his gauntlets and shield; in short, to be his armour-bearer. At the age of twenty-one the esquire was admitted a knight, after performing several religious and civil ceremonies. He was obliged to fast some days, and to receive the sacrament. Upon the morning of his admittance he was clad in a white garment (for that of an esquire was brown) and proceeding to the church with a sword about his neck, he presented it to the priest, who returned it him again with his benediction. He then knelt down, with his hands joined, before his lord, who was to instal him. The principal persons that assisted at the ceremony, and sometimes the ladies themselves, helped to put on his armour: one gave him the gold spurs; another the cuirass; another the gauntlets, &c. But most generally the lord, who invested him with this dignity, performed the ceremony himself, by delivering a sword and belt into the hands of the candidate, and touching him thrice on the shoulder with the flat side of his sword, or giving him a blow on the cheek with the palm of his hand, which was the last blow he was to put up with while he breathed. These ceremonies were observed only on solemn installations; but in the field, either before or after an engagement, the prince, or lord, only gave the accolade, which was touching the candidate on the neck, or shoulder, with his sword, and pronouncing these, or like words; "In the name of God I make thee a knight." The highest class of chivalry was that of the knights bannerets, who were ob-

6

liged

liged to prove their nobility by four quarters, and to have an estate sufficient to maintain fifty men at arms. They were called bannerets, from their privilege of carrying a square banner on the top of their lance. The order of chivalry was in greatest vogue at the time of the crusades; but, upon the declension of the feudal system, when kings began to have regular troops, the knights bannerets were no longer of use, and chivalry itself became little more than an empty name*.

CHARLES, upon the death of his father king John, returned to Bohemia, without troops or money, yet, with the unanimous consent of the people, was raised to the Bohemian throne. The first step he took, after his election, was to make preparations for war against the emperor Lewis; and, having raised a considerable army, he began his march into Bavaria, when he received advice of that prince's decease. This happened at a hunting match, when Lewis was attacked by a fit of apoplexy; and, falling from his horse, immediately expired. He was the first emperor that constantly resided in his hereditary dominions, the poverty of the imperial demesnes being insufficient to maintain the splendor of a court. After the death of this prince, other competitors started up, who, for some time, disputed the imperial crown with Charles; but he had the address to get rid of them all by two very powerful instruments, money and poison; and, his election being confirmed by the princes who had hitherto acted in the opposition, he was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1344, by the archbishop of Cologne†.

IN consequence of the gallant behaviour of prince John, at the battle of Cressy, he was ever after most dear to the emperor Charles, whose first act of gratitude, upon his return to Germany, was to invest that prince and his brother in equal right with the lordship of Stargard, and to render it independent of the margraves of Brandenburg. But as that was the first ground, or introduction, upon which these princes became members of

1347.
Death of the
emperor
Lewis of Ba-
varia, and
accession of
Charles IV.

Octob. 11.

Stargard de-
clared a fief
of the empire.

* Mem. sur l'Anc. Chev. Velly's Hist. of France.

† Hesse, Pfefel, Frank.

the empire, we shall be somewhat more explicit with regard to this investiture *. That the lordship of Stargard formerly belonged to the marquisate of Brandenburg; and was transferred to the house of Mecklenburg by the marriage of Beatrix, daughter of Albert, margrave of Brandenburg, to prince Henry the Lion, has been already mentioned in this history. Henry the Lion looked upon it as an old family estate, which had reverted to him by marriage, and which he had a right to bequeath, at his decease, to his sons, in preference to his daughter. The nephews of margrave Albert opposed this measure, imagining they had a better right to that country than the princes of Mecklenburg. This occasioned a war, in which, however, Henry still maintained his ground, and kept possession of that province. But as the Ascanian line became extinct, and Lewis of Bavaria was invested with the marquisate of Brandenburg by the emperor his father, he entered, at first, into an agreement with prince Henry, by which the latter was to keep possession of the principality of Stargard. The reason of Lewis's condescending to this agreement was, that he did not think it prudent to be at enmity with the house of Mecklenburg, during his contest with the Ascanian princes for several territories in Upper and Lower Saxony. After Henry's decease, Lewis insisted that the two young princes, who were yet under the care of guardians, should receive from him the investiture of Stargard. This, as we have already mentioned, was assented to by the guardians, of their own authority. But when the minority was expired, prince Albert and his brother were under great apprehensions; as Lewis, in his transactions with Pomerania in 1338, had given plain indications of his disposition to seize on the several districts, that had been formerly severed from the electorate of Brandenburg. These apprehensions naturally induced the young princes to embrace the Bohemian party, when Charles IV. entered into competition with Lewis of Branden-

* The diploma of this investiture is dated at Tuft, Octob. 16, 1347. It is mentioned in the instrument itself, to have been granted at the request of Rudolphus, duke of Saxony, who is nominated to perform the ceremony of investing.

burg. Stargard being still considered as a state belonging to the Germanic body, prince Albert and his brother, as soon as they received advice of the death of Lewis of Bavaria, offered to pay homage for it to Charles IV. Charles seemed the more ready to accept of this homage, as he was desirous of strengthening his party against the several princes, who were his competitors for the imperial dignity. The gallant behaviour of prince John of Mecklenburg at the battle of Cressy, had made a deep impression on his mind, and at the same time convinced him that this prince and his brother might be of great service to him in his contest with the house of Bavaria; and, particularly, with the margrave of Brandenburg. He could not, perhaps, have taken a more effectual measure to mortify that margrave, who sided with his enemies, than by ordering that a country, which his father had lately made a fief to Brandenburg, should be now considered as a state immediately dependent on the empire.

THE margrave Lewis being highly dissatisfied with the investiture of Stargard, went to war with the two brothers; but the disturbances which soon after broke out in the electorate of Brandenburg, obliged him to conclude a peace, and resign the lordship of Stargard to the young princes. These disturbances were occasioned by the impostor Waldemar, a creature set up by the policy of Charles IV. or rather, of Rudolphus, duke of Saxony*.

THIS prince, being of the Ascanian line, conceived an implacable hatred against Lewis, margrave of Brandenburg, ever since the latter had been invested by his father, the emperor Lewis, with that margraviate, which had so long belonged to the Ascanian family. His aversion to that prince, induced him to join in the confederacy, by which Charles was raised to the imperial crown, in opposition to Lewis of Bavaria, father of the margrave. In consequence of this alliance, he received of Charles the investiture of the Old-Marck, as a reward for his friendship and assistance. But the duke perceiving himself un-

Story of the
counterfeit
Waldemar.

* Crantzius, Beehr, Franck, Buckholtz, Gerdes.

able to dispossess the margrave of that territory by force of arms, (the emperor Charles himself being, as yet, in a tottering condition) had recourse to an extraordinary stratagem.

THERE lived at a place called Hundluft, an old miller named Jacob Rehbock, who, in his younger days, had been a domestic to the margrave Waldemar I. the last elector of Brandenburg of the Ascanian branch. In his person he bore a great resemblance to Waldemar, and was well acquainted with many transactions of that prince's life. The duke sent privately for this man, acquainted him with his design, which was to set up a pretender to the margraviate, gave him Waldemar's seal with some old golden coins, informed him of several state secrets, and desired him to personate that prince, since he found no difficulty to counterfeit his manner and voice. He farther instructed him to begin the farce with dressing himself in a pilgrim's habit, then to ramble about the country, to talk of past transactions, and to shew the seal and old coins as it were by accident ; but to proceed, for a time, no farther.

THE old miller understood his business perfectly well, had been trained to tricks and artifices from his youth, and acted his part, upon this occasion, to admiration. And now it began to be rumoured about, that the margrave Waldemar was still living. Jacob then returned to the duke, and acquainted him with the progress of the farce, desiring farther instructions. The duke, highly pleased with this success, bid him wait upon Otho, archbishop of Magdeburg, and declare himself to be the margrave Waldemar. The archbishop, then only four-and-twenty years of age, was son of the landgrave of Hesse, by whose superior interest he had obtained this dignity of the pope at Avignon. The miller pretended to have been already twenty-seven years a pilgrim, in voluntary exile from his native country : that the motive which induced him to lead such a life, was regret at having married too near a relation, which was Agnes his late wife, daughter of Hermannus, margrave of Brandenburg : that he could obtain no rest till he unboomed his mind, and poured out his conscience to pope John XXII. who

who enjoined him, by way of penance, to roam about the world as a pilgrim till the death of his consort: having heard she was lately departed this transitory life, he was, at length, returned to his native country. He begged him to observe, that he had no ambition to resume the reins of government, having sincerely renounced the pomp and vanity of the world; yet his conscience would not permit him to see the Bavarian family in possession of that land, while so many of his relations of the old Ascanian line were living. The archbishop, young and credulous, was easily imposed upon, especially when he shewed him the seal and the coins, and apprized him of several anecdotes concerning former transactions. With regard to his funeral, he said he had pretended sickness, and carried on the deception by the interment of a dead body. The archbishop listened with surprize, was overjoyed that the holy pilgrim acquainted him the first with so important a secret, seemed to be greatly flattered at his placing so high a confidence in him, and entreated him to appoint a conference with the duke of Saxony and the princes of Anhalt, who were the remaining branches of the Ascanian family. The duke, the contriver of this political machine, though highly delighted that the operation succeeded to his wishes, yet did not seem to stir in it, till the good prelate apprized him of the great secret; upon which he expressed his surprize, and promised to enter into an agreement with the other princes of his family, for restoring the old margrave (meaning the counterfeit Waldemar) to his former dominions.

THE duke perceived that there was very little prospect of carrying his point against the margrave Lewis, who had a strong party among the princes and states of the interior parts of Germany, unless he could prevail on the princes upon the coast of the Baltic to join in the confederacy. With this view he opened the affair to the dukes of Stettin and Pomerania, with promises to the former, that if they gained their point, they should send Jacob Rehbock back again to his mill, and divide the whole country betwixt them; and to the latter, that he should

The impostor is supported by several princes, and, among others, by those of Mecklenburg.

have the Ucker and New-Marck, which he had so long desired to get into his possession. With regard to the princes of Mecklenburg, he expected to prevail with them, by proposing to them a stronger and more intimate connection with the German empire, with an exaltation to a higher dignity. This he had concerted with the new emperor Charles, who was privy to the whole secret, though it was concealed from the princes of Mecklenburg. Stargard had been already released from its feudal subjection to Brandenburg, and made a fief of the empire. And now it was proposed to extend the same privilege to the whole country of Mecklenburg, so as to free it from all feudal claims or pretensions of homage, which the house of Saxony might have to that country; and to declare it, together with Stargard, a dukedom of the Roman empire. The scheme succeeded: prince Albert, and his brother, being desirous of setting aside all feudal claims or pretensions of the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony, to any part of their dominions, were convinced that the most effectual way of attaining that end, would be to make their whole country an imperial fief, and to become members of the Germanic body: they were, therefore, easily persuaded to accept of the ducal dignity, and to espouse the cause of the impostor, whom they supposed, however, to be the real Waldemar.

1348.
Prince Albert and his brother created dukes of Mecklenburg, and princes of the empire.

THINGS being now ripe for this important change, the two princes of Mecklenburg set out for Prague, the capital of Bohemia, where the emperor Charles IV. at that time resided. They were accompanied on this occasion by their uncle Rudolphus, duke of Saxony, who promised to renounce all rights, claims, and pretensions of homage, that the house of Saxony might have formerly had, or still retained over that of Mecklenburg. This renunciation is mentioned in the emperor's patent of creation *. The two brothers received the solemn

* The words of Rudolphus are: "Ministeriales homines & vassallos, ac omnia jura, possessiones, &c. quos & quas in terris Saviæ possidemus:" by which he means only the county and bishopric of Schwerin, with the country of the Polabi, or Lawenburg. But as to the country of Mecklenburg itself, the princes of that family had
always

investiture of their lands in Mecklenburg and Stargard from the emperor Charles IV. July the eighth, 1348, and paid homage for the same to that prince, and to the empire. At this ceremony were present, besides the duke of Saxony above-mentioned, Gerlac, archbishop of Mentz; Barnim, duke of Stettin in Pomerania, with several other princes. Upon which the usual patents were made out to Albert and his brother, declaring their lands to be held as a fief, and co-estate of the Germanic body; and releasing them from all feudal subjection to the duke of Saxony, or to any other power. These letters patent are the ground-work of all the rights of the house of Mecklenburg at the diet of the empire; and are to be found in Gerdes's Collections, and in Westphal's Diplom. Mecklenb. They are dated July the eighth, 1348. The emperor Charles is said to have made, in consequence of this creation, a change in the arms of Mecklenburg, adding to the buffalo's head the ornament of a ducal crown. But there is no mention of any such change in the patent; and even before this period there were instances of a crown on the buffalo's head in the seals of those princes. It is, however, certain, that the emperor, on the present occasion, granted to both the brothers, whom, henceforward, we shall stile dukes of Mecklenburg, the power of creating a new count, and investing him with certain fiefs, to support his dignity *.

always held their lands and possessions in full sovereignty. And in the whole tenor of this history, there does not appear the least vestige of their dependence, save only when the unjust violence of their enemies obliged them to make a temporary submission. See p. 9.

* Marthal, Rixner Westphal. Kluver, Franck, Beehr, Heisse, Barre.

C H A P. II.

Several princes take umbrage at the new creation of the ducal dignity in the house of Mecklenburg. Duke Albert engages in the war in support of the counterfeit Waldemar. Congress at Lubeck. Peace concluded. The county of Furstenberg erected in favour of the family of Dewitz. The county of Schwerin recovered by the house of Mecklenburg. War between Pomerania and Brandenburg, for the principality of Rugen. Claus Hahn defeated. Duke Albert and his brother divide their dominions. War with the duke of Saxe-Lawenburg. War with the duke of Brunswick. The emperor Charles IV. enacts the famous constitution called the Golden Bull.

1348.
Several princes take umbrage at the elevation of the house of Mecklenburg.

THE elevation of the house of Mecklenburg to the ducal dignity, had given great umbrage to several princes, but more especially to Waldemar, king of Denmark; and Lewis, margrave of Brandenburg. These two powers were highly incensed, that the new dukes had paid homage to the empire for Rostock and Stargard; to the former of which the crown of Denmark had feudal pretensions, as the electorate of Brandenburg had to the latter. The lords of Werle, Nicholas VIII. and Bernard III. were likewise dissatisfied at this act of union, by which their cousins had incorporated their dominions with the Germanic body. There had been, indeed, some misunderstanding between the two branches before this period; but now the breach was greatly widened. For, notwithstanding the princes of Werle had entered into a compact of inheritance with prince Albert and his brother in 1344, yet the very next year they repented their agreement, and concluded an alliance against them, with Lewis, elector of Brandenburg. Their jealousy returning, as it were, by alternate fits, after they had renewed the compact of inheritance in 1351, they entered into a second alliance with the margrave Lewis in 1354, to secure themselves from the encroachments of their powerful relations.
But,

But, at length, in the year 1356, the two branches were thoroughly reconciled *.

THE impostor Waldemar had assisted at the last investiture of duke Albert, and his brother, at Prague; where he promised to fulfil every article that had been agreed to in 1329, by the margrave Lewis, who afterwards refused to perform his agreement. This promise, however, was made on condition of its proving acceptable to Rudolphus, duke of Saxony; and duke Barnim of Stettin; who were acquainted with the secret springs of the whole machinery. As Charles IV. could now depend on the assistance of the dukes of Mecklenburg, against the margrave Lewis, who refused to acknowledge the validity of the late imperial election; he openly embraced the party of the impostor Waldemar, and set every engine at work in order to harass and distress the elector of Brandenburg. Barnim, duke of Stettin, took the lead, by marching an army into the electorate, where he made himself master of most of the towns, except Frankfort on the Oder, Spandaw, and Brietzen; the last of which, from its fidelity in holding out for the margrave, was called Treuen, that is, True Britzen. The duke of Stettin was soon joined by several of the other princes; and the allied army laid siege to Frankfort on the Oder. The margrave, who commanded the garrison in person, was now in danger of being stripped of all his dominions. The emperor, after dismembering whatever he thought most suitable to his own conveniency, granted the investiture of the remainder to the miller of Hundluft, with the expectancy, in failure of issue male, to the prince of Anhalt, and the duke of Saxony, who were both of that family from which the impostor claimed his origin. To complete Lewis's misfortune, the opinion that the counterfeit, was the real Waldemar, began to gain ground; for bold and impudent assertions never fail to meet with credit from the vulgar. Upon this particular occasion, humanity and justice seemed equally to conspire, in inviting all the brave and generous to assist an

1348.
War in support of the impostor Waldemar.

* Chemnitz, Crantzius, Latomus, Beehr, Buckholtz, Franck.

injured prince ; and the extraordinary circumstance of his return, so inflamed the zeal of the adventurers, that the impostor was soon followed by a great number of adherents.

Siege of
Frankfort on
the Oder.

IN the mean time, the town of Frankfort on the Oder, made a most gallant defence, though vigorously attacked by a formidable army. The besiegers were encouraged by the presence of fourteen princes of the first rank, among whom was the emperor himself in person, with the archbishop of Magdeburg ; Rudolph, duke of Saxony ; Barnim III. and his son Casimir, dukes of Pomerania ; Albert and John, dukes of Mecklenburg ; Albert and Waldemar, princes of Anhalt, who pushed the siege with the utmost vigour. They had pitched their camp before the Guben gate, where a Carthusian monastery was afterwards erected. Thus surrounded, and hard pressed by a most powerful army, the town seemed to be in danger of falling into the hands of the enemy, when a sudden diversion, in its favour, baffled all the attempts of this powerful confederacy.

1349.
The king of
Denmark
supports the
margrave of
Branden-
burg.

WALDEMAR, king of Denmark, having received intelligence of the progress of the allies, was under great concern, and determined to exert the whole power of the Danish crown, in support of his brother-in-law, the margrave of Brandenburg. He therefore convened a diet at Roschild, where he obtained sufficient supplies to equip a fleet, with which he invaded the country of Mecklenburg. Duke Albert, hearing of the ravages committed by the Danes, found himself obliged to fly to the assistance of his own subjects : whereupon the siege of Frankfort was raised. King Waldemar, on the other hand, after plundering and laying waste the whole country of Mecklenburg, directed his march towards Pomerania. By the way, he laid siege to Stargard, which made a good defence, but was obliged, at length, to surrender. These operations having been attended with some loss to the Danish army, determined king Waldemar to take up his quarters in that town, till he could be joined by a considerable reinforcement, under the command of Lewis the Roman, brother of the margrave of Bran-

Brandenburg. The duke of Mecklenburg, after driving the Danes with great slaughter out of Poel, had marched with the utmost expedition in pursuit of king Waldemar, who was now obliged to shut himself up in the town of Stargard. Albert, losing no time, invested the place, and was upon the point of seeing the success of his arms crowned by the captivity of the Danish monarch, when advice was brought him of the approach of Lewis the Roman. This intelligence greatly disconcerted the duke's measures; he had not troops sufficient to carry on the siege, and at the same time to give battle to Lewis the Roman. In such a dilemma, he thought it most advisable to raise the siege, in order to attack prince Lewis on his march, and prevent his junction with the Danish forces under king Waldemar. His plan was well formed, and succeeded: after a most expeditious march, he came up with Lewis the Roman; and a battle was fought, which proved obstinate and bloody. Fortune, for some time, held an even balance; but, at length, declared in favour of the duke, who gained a complete victory, and took a considerable number of prisoners.

In the mean time, the king of Denmark drew his forces out of Stargard; and, marching into Pomerania, was joined by a body of troops belonging to the duke of that country: with these he invested Berlin, which had declared for the impostor. Albert, with his victorious bands, hastened to the relief of the besieged; and the king drew up his army to give him battle. Both parties were waiting for the signal to engage, when some of the more moderate nobility in the respective armies proposed an accommodation. Accordingly, a suspension of arms was agreed to, during which they endeavoured to settle the terms of a definitive treaty of peace. Such a measure could not but be highly acceptable to king Waldemar, who was then at so great a distance from his own dominions, and had been informed that his fleet was obliged to sail back to Denmark. The emperor was also desirous of a peace, being convinced that it would be impossible for him to enjoy his crown in quiet, unless he desisted from his design against the margrave of Brandenburg.

Peace concluded.

denburg. But he had entered into such a connection with the counterfeit Waldemar and his adherents, that he could not easily recede from his engagements.

The contest
about the
counterfeit
Waldemar
examined.

A CONFERENCE was therefore held, and the parties consented to an interview at Bautzen in Upper Lusatia. At this assembly were present, the emperor; the dukes of Saxony and Mecklenburg; the elector Palatine; the margrave of Misnia; the king of Denmark; the margrave of Brandenburg; and his two brothers, with several princes of that party; besides a multitude of other persons, who were either interested in the decision of so important an event, or came to give their testimony at that celebrated inquiry. The conference ended in a treaty of peace, by which Lewis, margrave of Brandenburg, was to preserve his dominions, to receive the investiture from the emperor, and to relinquish such parts of the electorate as had been appropriated by that prince, namely, almost the intire margraviate of Lusatia. The emperor, on his part, engaged not to disturb the margrave in the quiet possession of his dominions, but to hold a congress soon after, in order to determine the affair of the counterfeit Waldemar. Between the margrave and the duke of Mecklenburg it was agreed, that the former should relinquish all right and claim of sovereignty or jurisdiction over the principality of Stargard; that he should espouse Ingeburga, the daughter of duke Albert, who, for her dower, should have the towns of Lentzen, Werben, Seehusen, Perleberg, and Arensberg; and that the prisoners taken by her father at the late memorable engagement with Lewis the Roman should be released without ransom.

A CONGRESS was shortly after held at Nurenberg; and Rupert, elector Palatine, having heard the witnesses, pronounced judgment, that the counterfeit Waldemar was an audacious impostor; and the sentence was afterwards confirmed by the emperor. This solemn declaration put an end to a farce, in which the impostor had so long acted the principal part with unparalleled effrontery. Men are, by nature, prone to follow fortune, and to forsake and despise their greatest favourites, when

when become the victims of adversity. Thus it happened upon the present occasion: our adventurer was abandoned by most of his adherents, and compelled to retire to Anhalt, the margrave of which country refusing to acknowledge the justice of the sentence, gave an honourable reception to that famous pretender. There he passed the remainder of his days in the obscurity to which his birth seemed to have consigned him, and died at Dessau in 1356*. Such was the issue of an affair, which had spread the flames of war through several parts of Germany, and had like to have proved fatal to the ancient and powerful house of Bavaria†.

KING Waldemar, before he returned to Denmark, held a congress at Lubeck, at which were present Lewis the Roman; William, duke of Luneburg; Rudolphus, duke of Saxony; Eric, duke of Saxe-Lawenburg; Casimir, duke of Stettin; Wratislaus, duke of Wolgast; and Albert, duke of Mecklenburg; with the counts of Holstein, and several other princes of Germany. Here the king concluded a treaty with duke Albert, by which the princess Ingelburga, then only three years of age, was promised in marriage to Henry, afterwards called the Suspensor, eldest son of duke Albert. For her dower, she was to have six thousand marks of silver; and, till she attained to an age of maturity, was to be educated under the tuition of the mother of her intended spouse, duke Henry. After the consummation of the nuptials, she was to have for her maintenance, during life, the towns of Gnopenhufen, Ribbenitz, and Tessien, with all their appurtenances. On the other hand, duke Albert promised to assist the king in reuniting to his crown the different provinces that had been severed from it at the time of Christopher II. excepting, however, those fiefs which were in the duke's own possession.

1350.
Congress at
Lubeck.

THIS same year two grievous calamities befel the country of Mecklenburg; the first was, a dreadful fire at Wismar, which

Public calamities.

* That this man was not an impostor, but the real Waldemar, M. Gundling, in his Atlas of Brandenburg, has maintained in our days; but he is single in his opinion.

† Crantzius, Latomus, Chemnitz, Beehr, Franck, Buckholtz, Mallet, Barre, Pfeffel.

destroyed the town-house, with all the records and charters belonging to that city. The second was, a devouring pestilence, one of the most destructive scourges mentioned in history. It had begun its ravages on the coasts of the Mediterranean, and from thence extended its malignant influence to France, England, and Germany, where the superstition of the vulgar, and their inveterate hatred to the Jews, made them absurdly lay it to the charge of that unhappy nation. In the city of Wismar alone, two thousand people were swept off by this disease in the space of one month: with equal rage and malignity it spread itself to Scandinavia, where a fourth part of the inhabitants died of this fatal malady. Even the snows and frozen mountains of Iceland, could not preserve that country from the infection; the greatest part of the natives perished; neither has it yet been able to repair the loss sustained upon that occasion *.

The county of Furstenberg erected in favour of the family of Dewitz.

ABOUT this time was erected the county of Furstenberg, in favour of the illustrious family of Dewitz; an event which merits our particular notice. The princes of Mecklenburg having been raised to the ducal dignity, it was apprehended, in pursuance of the political ideas of that time, that they must have subordinate to their jurisdiction, a person dignified with the title of count, to attend them in their military expeditions, according to the original institution of that office. Rudolphus, duke of Saxony, having relinquished his feudal claims upon duke Albert's investiture, the county of Schwerin, the only one in the territory of the Venedi, was become a fief dependent on the new dukes. But the count of that name refusing to submit to such feudal tenure, a new county was erected by the emperor Charles IV. in favour of the two brothers, Otho and Ulric of Dewitz: this was at the request of the new dukes, from whom they were to receive their investiture. The father of these noblemen, Otho of Dewitz, had been appointed first counsellor or minister of state, by prince Henry the Lion, and probably was one of the guardians of duke Albert and his brother. His sons, Otho and Ulric of Dewitz, had been educated toge-

* Chemnitz, Latomus, Beehr, Franck, Mallet.

ther with duke Albert, which gave them an opportunity of ingratiating themselves with their sovereign.

THE family of Dewitz is one of the most respectable in the country of Mecklenburg and Pomerania, being descended from the ancient Venedi. Their name they derive from the lordship or manor of Dewitz, situated on the other side of Stargard. The county erected on this occasion was of considerable extent, containing Strelitz, Furstenberg, Konau, Arensburg, Wustrow, Drosedow, and some other places. Strelitz is indebted to this family for its present dignity as a city, since before this period it was only a village. The two counts founded a new town on this very spot, and favoured it with the privilege of taking three golden cups for its insignia, being the arms of Dewitz †. But the dignity of the counts of Furstenberg did not remain long in the family. In the space of twenty years, the indiscretion of the two brothers, James and Gerard Dewitz, proved fatal to themselves and to their posterity. These noblemen were possessed of estates, which lay partly in Mecklenburg, and partly in Pomerania; and, consequently, were held of different sovereigns. In the war which broke out soon after between the two provinces, the brothers unfortunately preferred the side of Pomerania. Duke Albert reminded them of their duty as his vassals, and of the obligation they owed him for their new dignity. But his remonstrances proved ineffectual: they took the field in conjunction with the duke of Pomerania; and duke Albert resenting this behaviour, seized the county of Furstenberg, and deprived the two brothers of their new honours. Such is the inconveniency which a vassal feels, from holding under two lords or sovereigns in opposite interests. The family, however, is still possessed of considerable lands in Mecklenburg and Pomerania; in the latter particularly, it has the ancient estate of Daber, granted to it as an indemnity on the above occasion, by the dukes of Pomerania. From this place the Dewitzes take the title of Schloss-

Account of
the family of
Dewitz.

† The original deed, signed Otho and Ulric, counts of Furstenberg, is preserved at Strelitz, where the author of this history saw it in 1766; it is dated 1349.

gefeffene, usually given to such as have a moated seat adorned with battlements; a title of considerable note in that country. There are several gentlemen, tenants to that noble family, and distinguished by the name of Sub-feudarii, or rear vassals. One of the Dewitzes hath the hereditary right of being elected provincial counsellor in Pomerania, in the circle of Daber. This noble family hath also produced many famous generals, three of whom, in the present century, signalized themselves in the Prussian service, and one in the Danish, besides another in the Imperial army, who was honoured with the order of the golden fleece. It has likewise given birth to many able ministers and statesmen, among whom we must not forget the illustrious baron de Dewitz, envoy extraordinary to the king of Great-Britain, from both the courts of Mecklenburg, who came over with her present majesty*.

1350.
The county
of Schwerin
recovered by
the house of
Mecklen-
burg.

BUT duke Albert's attention was not confined to matters of dignity and ceremony; he had constantly in view the interest and aggrandizement of his family. To attain this end, he had dexterously availed himself of the good disposition of the emperor Charles IV. and of the friendship of his uncle Rudolphus, duke of Saxony. This prince having renounced all feudal sovereignty over the country of the Venedi, duke Albert had thereby acquired the right of seignory or jurisdiction over the county of Schwerin. But Otho, the reigning count of that district, shewed no regard to the above-mentioned renunciation; neither would he pay any homage to the house of Mecklenburg. The first time that duke Albert gained footing in the county of Schwerin, was in the year 1350, when the widow of count Nicholas IV. acknowledged him as her lord paramount; and put herself under his protection, together with the town of Crivitz, and the district of Lesem, which she had received for her dower. But this being an affair of the highest consequence to the serene family, as it proved the means of their

* Chemnitz, Beehr, Franck, Buckholtz.

recovering the county of Schwerin, their ancient patrimony, it may not be improper to trace matters to their origin, and to throw the whole transaction into one point of view.

NICHOLAS III. count of Schwerin, was the first of the family that gave any hopes to the house of Mecklenburg, of succeeding to that county. So early as the year 1334, he entered into an agreement at Sternberg with the princes of Mecklenburg, by which they acquired the expectancy of Crivitz and Boitzenburg. In the year 1345, he persuaded his cousin Nicholas IV. of Schwerin to accede to the above compact; and this agreement was also concluded at Sternberg. On the other hand, the princes of Mecklenburg granted the expectancy of Grevsmuhlen to the counts of Schwerin. Nicholas III. had no issue; but his elder brother Gunzelin V. who died in 1338, left two sons, Otho and Nicholas V. Count Otho approved of this whole transaction in 1347; and farther agreed, that the princes of Mecklenburg should receive eventual homage, or oath of allegiance, for Crivitz and Boitzenburg. Count Nicholas III. dying without issue in 1349, his estate, or patrimony, devolved to his nephew, count Otho.

THIS Otho, surnamed Rosa, had a brother, count Nicholas V. but Otho alone seems to have held the reins of government. He possessed himself of the whole county of Schwerin, which was now reunited under one head. In 1347 he had given his consent, as hath been already observed, that his cousins should grant the expectancy of their estates to the princes of Mecklenburg. But he repented this concession the ensuing year 1348, when the two brothers were created dukes and princes of the empire: for Rudolphus, elector of Saxony, having renounced all feudal claims to the country of the Venedi; the princes of Mecklenburg, in whose favour that renunciation had been made, began to form pretensions to the supreme jurisdiction of the county of Schwerin; and, on that account, to exact homage. Nicholas IV. the last of the elder branch of the family, bequeathed, at his decease in 1349, to his wife Elizabeth Wide-kind,

kind, of a noble family in the bishopric of Minden, the town of Crivitz, and the district of Lesem, for her dower. He is also supposed to have acknowledged this claim of sovereignty; and therefore it was, that his widow, apprehensive of being disturbed in her possession by count Otho, made no manner of difficulty to put herself, with her father's consent, in the year 1350, under the protection of duke Albert. But count Otho pretending to have a better right to the estate, which was appointed for her dower, and that she had no legal power to dispose of it to the prejudice of her husband's family; to avoid all further molestation, she sold the whole property thereof to her generous protector. It seems that count Otho was mistaken in this point; for, at that time, by the laws of Germany, widows were possessed of all feignorial rights and privileges over their respective dowers. The purchase must have been considerable, since duke Albert was obliged to sell the village of Cumrow, with all its rights and privileges, to the town of Gnoyen, in order to raise the money. He then prepared to take possession of the above estate, consisting of the town of Crivitz, and district of Lesem, when count Otho openly opposed him. Irritated at this proceeding, duke Albert resolved to assert his right by the sword, and even to maintain his claim of supreme jurisdiction over the whole county; insisting, that Otho should either quietly resign it, or receive it from him as a feudal tenure. Otho refusing to comply, duke Albert marched a body of troops into the country; and, in spite of all opposition from the count, made himself master of Crivitz and Wittenberg. At length, an accommodation was effected by means of prince John of Werle; and, in virtue hereof, duke Albert kept possession of Crivitz, but Wittenberg was restored to count Otho.

1351.

THE following year, 1351, while duke Albert was engaged in the Pomeranian war, of which hereafter, count Otho looked upon it as a favourable opportunity for recovering his lost territory. With this design he fell upon the district of Lesem, and attacked the town of Crivitz; but the garrison belonging to
duke

duke Albert made so gallant a defence, that they obliged him to raise the siege, and took him prisoner. He was carried from thence to Wismar, where he remained in durance till 1352. Here he had time to reflect seriously, which induced him to adopt new measures for the regulation of his conduct. For as he had no other issue than a daughter, named Richardis, he gave her away in marriage to prince Albert II. son of duke Albert, and afterwards king of Sweden : for her portion, she had not only a considerable sum of money, but likewise the right of inheritance to the whole county. As a security for the performance of this engagement, he put duke Albert in possession of the town of Boitzenburg in 1353, and departed this life in 1357. His wife was Matilda, daughter of prince John of Werle Goldberg.

DURING these proceedings, his brother, count Nicholas V. was highly dissatisfied with his conduct. As soon as count Otho breathed his last, count Nicholas received the homage of the towns of Schwerin and Wittenberg. On the other hand, duke Albert had the investiture of that county conferred upon him by Rudolphus, elector of Saxony *. Such being the posture of affairs, duke Albert marched an army into the county of Schwerin, and made himself master of every town and district therein, except the capital, where count Nicholas commanded in person. Duke Albert had the misfortune of being repulsed from before this town by the duke of Saxe-Lawenburg ; yet he was not dismayed, but laid siege to it again, after he had received fresh succours from William, duke of Brunswick Lunenburg, and homage from the nobility of the county. The siege of this place detained the duke much longer than he expected. The garrison being numerous, made several sallies, and surprised the camp of the besiegers. The neighbouring peasants also, allured by the prospect of gain, disguised themselves in women's apparel, and stole into the town ; or carried provi-

* We apprehend, that this jurisdiction was afterwards superseded ; probably in consequence of the renunciation of Rudolphus, elector of Saxony in 1348, to all rights over the Venedi.

1358.

fions in boats to the inhabitants. At length, the states of the county interposed their good offices; and, in 1358, they prevailed on count Nicholas to come to an agreement with duke Albert. By virtue of that treaty, the duke was acknowledged lord paramount of the county. At length, count Nicholas this very year 1358 resigned his right to the county of Schwerin, in favour of the house of Mecklenburg, for twenty thousand marks of silver. The money was agreed to be paid at different instalments; and upon the first payment of five thousand marks in 1358, the country was resigned to the duke, and has ever since continued in this serene family. To raise the purchase money, Albert was obliged to treat with the city of Rostock; and, in order to keep the inhabitants of Schwerin in awe, he made it the ducal residence.

COUNT Nicholas V. who was also known by the name of count Teklenburg, by being possessed of that sovereignty in Westphalia, withdrew soon after this agreement from the county of Schwerin. But he still kept Boitzenburg in his hands, as a pledge for the remaining fifteen thousand marks, of which, at different payments, he afterwards received four thousand two hundred. This he looked upon as a tedious way of proceeding, and therefore wanted to sell the town of Boitzenburg to the city of Lubeck, for the remainder of the money. The inhabitants of Boitzenburg would not suffer themselves to be sold in that manner, but submitted to duke Albert, who, upon taking possession of the town, absolutely refused to make any further payment. Nicholas's son, Otho of Teklenburg, and his successors long after that, endeavoured by repeated applications, to obtain the remainder of the money; but all their endeavours proved fruitless. Tired with ineffectual applications, the counts of Teklenburg dropped their pretensions ever since 1564; their family is now extinct; and the county of Teklenburg is devolved to the present house of Brandenburg.

IN relating the recovery of the important county of Schwerin, we have deviated from the order of time; we shall now come to the intermediate transactions.

No

No sooner were the two brothers raised to the ducal dignity, than they began to think of asserting their claim, in conjunction with the princes of Werle, to the principality of Rugen. For this purpose, they had entered into a treaty of alliance with those princes in 1348 (as hath been already mentioned) to support their mutual pretensions. The nature of those claims has been also explained, together with the hostilities which broke out at that time, and the truce by which they were suspended. The pretext for this truce, on the part of the dukes of Pomerania, was to prepare a solid peace, which should terminate all differences, while their real design was to take advantage of a transient calm, and put themselves in a condition to renew the war with greater vigour than ever. In the mean time, under a pretence of moderation, several conferences were held; and they chose Waldemar, king of Denmark, for an arbitrator of their differences.

1350.
War between
Pomerania
and Meck-
lenburg for
the principa-
lity of Ru-
gen.

BUT as soon as the Pomeranian dukes had made the necessary preparations for taking the field, they marched a body of troops into the neighbourhood of Grimm, and made themselves masters of that place, by the treachery of the commanding officer. From thence they proceeded to Bart, and met with the same success, though without any infidelity in the governor. In consequence of this behaviour, the flames of war broke out anew between Pomerania and Mecklenburg. Duke Albert having concluded a treaty with the Lubeckers, with whom he had been at some variance, raised a considerable sum of money for maintaining the war, by granting of privileges to several noble families; or, by confirming those already granted by his ancestors; particularly to the town of Wismar, whose privileges, or charter, had been burnt in the late fire. All things being now in readiness for taking the field, the Mecklenburghers marched with three armies into Pomerania; the first under the command of duke Albert; the second headed by prince Nicholas of Werle; and the third by a valiant captain, named Claus Hahn. Duke Albert directed his march to Bart, and soon recovered that town. Prince Nicholas, also, made

1351.

Claus Hahn
defeated.

himself master of Grimm, where the governor, who had betrayed the place, was taken prisoner, and condemned to be burnt alive. The third, which was the weakest division, under the command of Claus Hahn, marched towards Loitz, in order to lay siege to a castle of great strength in that neighbourhood. With him were the count of Gutzkow, and several gallant knights, all eager to distinguish themselves by their exploits. But duke Barnim of Pomerania, a prince of great experience in the military art, having reinforced his army with a body of auxiliaries sent by the margrave Lewis the Roman, who had succeeded his brother Lewis the Ancient, came up with the Mecklenburghers under Claus Hahn, the twenty-fifth of October, at a place called Schoppen, not far from Loitz. The battle was obstinate and bloody, both sides being animated by the example of their commanders. A great slaughter was made among the knights under Claus Hahn; at length, this general himself being wounded, was obliged to quit the field; and victory declared itself in favour of duke Barnim.

AFTER the unfortunate defeat of Claus Hahn, duke Bogislaus of Pomerania, marched with all expedition against duke Albert, in hopes of destroying that division of the Mecklenburg army. But Albert acted so cautiously upon this occasion, that Bogislaus could not attack him to any advantage; and the season was now so far advanced, that the armies were no longer able to keep the field. Mean while, the dukes of Mecklenburg renewed their alliance with the princes of Werle for five years; and made preparations for opening the campaign early in the spring, with more numerous forces. But prince John of Goldberg happening to die this very year, 1351, the alliance was somewhat weakened; and the king of Denmark offering his mediation, the proposal was accepted. King Waldemar was a proper person to arbitrate these differences, being agreeable to duke Albert and his cousins, partly because that monarch had lately concluded a peace with them himself, and partly because his ancestors had ceded the principality of Rugen to the house of Mecklenburg. Yet was not that prince

to be rejected as a moderator by the dukes of Pomerania, since they naturally surmised, that Waldemar would not be partial to duke Albert, knowing him to be brother-in-law to Magnus, king of Sweden, and an enemy to the Danish interest. In consequence of this arbitration it was determined that the Pomeranians should keep the territories in dispute, on condition of paying thirty-one thousand marks of silver; and that, for security of the payment, the towns of Grimm and Bart should be deposited, as before, in the hands of Nicholas, prince of Goldberg. Duke Albert was fain to acquiesce in this award, otherwise he would have been obliged to contend with too many, and too powerful enemies.

THE ensuing year was memorable for the marriage of prince Albert, son of duke Albert, to Richardis, daughter of Otho, count of Schwerin. About the same time John, brother of duke Albert, having espoused the daughter of John, count of Holstein, resolved to be no longer connected with his brother in the joint government, but to have his share of the paternal inheritance. The two brothers, therefore, came to a partition of their dominions, by which duke Albert resigned to duke John the principality of Stargard, the town and government of Sternberg, with the castle of Eldenburg, and the garrison towns which the house of Mecklenburg then possessed in the marquisate of Brandenburg, by way of deposit. Duke Albert had the remainder of the dominions of Mecklenburg; and soon after, by the acquisition of Schwerin, became the most powerful of any of the princes of his family. The present regulation was agreeable, not only to the ancient custom of the country, but likewise to the feudal law. But lest it might be of any prejudice to the family, should either of the brothers happen to die without issue, in which case his share would devolve to the empire, they afterwards took care to have it confirmed by his Imperial majesty. After this transaction, history takes but little notice of duke John, whose posterity formed a new line of princes, stiled the dukes of Mecklenburg Stargard*.

1352.
Duke Albert and his brother divide their dominions.

* Chemnitz, Schultz, Latomus, Beehr, Franck.

1353.

THIS year shines with distinguished lustre in the Danish annals, on account of the birth of the illustrious princess Margaret; who, after the death of her father Waldemar III. succeeded to the crown of Denmark. The manly virtues, and uncommon intellectual qualities of this princess, which seemed to be in every respect above her sex, raised her afterwards to the crown of Sweden, by dethroning king Albert of the house of Mecklenburg; and procured her the glorious title of Semiramis of the north. The birth of great personages is often attended with circumstances of an extraordinary nature, as was that of Margaret. The king, her father, having for some years entertained a suspicion of the virtue of his queen Hedwig*, kept her confined in the castle of Seeburg. One day as he was returning from hunting, a sudden thought made him repair to the castle, where he afterwards formed a design to spend the night with one of the queen's women. The lady, whose virtue declined even the embraces of a monarch, not daring openly to refuse him, had recourse to artifice; and availing herself of the shades of night, betrayed the king into the arms of his lawful wife, where, by the powerful operation of a deluded fancy, he enjoyed all the pleasures of stolen love, in the arms of her whom he had long since neglected and forsaken. The queen conceived in consequence of the embraces of this night, the mistake not being discovered till the morning; and the birth of the princess Margaret was, nine months after, the fruit of those endearments.

The Pomeranian war renewed.

THE peace with Pomerania, though concluded under the mediation of Denmark, was of very short duration. Scarce had the sword been sheathed, when Barnim, duke of Pomerania, desirous of being revenged of prince Nicholas of Gustrow, for joining with duke Albert in the preceding war, trumped up a pretension to the lordship of Stavenhagen. Nicholas, confiding in his alliance with duke Albert, refused to comply with

* Queen Hedwig of Sleswick fell into disgrace with the king, her husband, in consequence of too great a familiarity between her and Valquard Langmann, a Danish officer.

so unreasonable a demand; upon which hostilities were revived by the Pomeranians, who, once more, made themselves masters of Grimm. Duke Albert, faithful to his engagements, marched immediately to the assistance of his cousins of Werle, and laid siege to Grimm, which he took by storm, and put the garrison to the sword. The Pomeranian army being strongly reinforced, not only retook Grimm, but also made themselves masters of Bart, where the Mecklenburghers underwent the same cruel fate as the garrison of Grimm. Such was the barbarous practice in that unpolished age, when commanders, in the wantonness of their resentment, exercised the utmost rigour of the laws of war against their vanquished foes, which was as rigorously retaliated on their own forces, to the utter disgrace of religion, good sense, and humanity.

Just at this juncture died Otho, count of Schwerin, surnamed the Rose, without issue male; whose daughter Richardis was married, as hath been already mentioned, to Albert the second, son of the duke of Mecklenburg. So able a politician as duke Albert would not lose such an opportunity of recovering a very fine principality, the ancient patrimony of his ancestors. He therefore concluded a peace once more with the dukes of Pomerania, and resigned his right to the contested territory of Rugen, only reserving the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the bishop of Schwerin, and the tithes due to that prelate by the district of Tribbuses, and the town of Stralsund. Stavenhagen, with its district, was ceded in perpetuity to the princes of Werle, to be held, however, as a fief of the dukes of Pomerania, who were obliged to pay, at length, the thirty-one thousand marks of silver, for which the town of Bart and Grimm had been so long deposited in the hands of the above princes; though some pretend they paid only a part of the money. After this transaction, duke Albert applied his whole attention to the important succession of the county of Schwerin; the particulars of which have been related † in the foregoing pages *.

† Crantz. Chemn. Latom. Lyschander, Schwartz, Micrael, Franck.

* See p. 222, 223, &c.

1355.

JOHN, duke of Stargard, having been stripped of his estates in the marquisate of Brandenburg in the late war, duke Albert was obliged to agree to a new partition with that prince. In virtue of this agreement, he resigned to him the towns of Lychen and Wefenberg; as also the castles of Arensberg and Ramelow, together with the county of Furstenberg; reserving to himself the right of succession to those territories, in case the brother should happen to die without male issue. The two duke of Stargard having adjusted matters to their mutual satisfaction, entered into a new treaty of alliance and friendship with Nicholas and Bernard, princes of Werle.

1356.
Congress at
Lubeck.

ABOUT the same time was held an assembly in Lubeck, at which most of the neighbouring princes, and, among others, the dukes of Mecklenburg, assisted. The chief motive of their meeting was not to amuse themselves with carousals and such like entertainments; matters of a more serious nature engaged the attention of this illustrious assembly. They entered into a convention, by which each prince promised to exert himself in extirpating the banditti, by whom that whole country, and especially the neighbourhood of the Hanse towns, was most grievously infested. This nuisance had been of a long standing, to the great scandal of government, and of many princes, by whom it was visibly encouraged.

Quarrel between duke Albert and the Hanse towns concerning the banditti.

WE must not dissemble on this occasion, that duke Albert himself had lain under a very heavy imputation, for taking several of those men into his army, soon after he had been raised to the ducal dignity. Many of them had been expelled their country by the counts of Holstein, and the cities of Hamburg and Lubeck, for their outrages and violence. Among these were some of the family of Xulen, who distinguished themselves in the duke's service. The intrepidity of those adventurers rendered them as agreeable to the princes, under whose banners they fought in time of war, as they proved terrible and odious to the commercial towns of that neighbourhood in time of peace. For having no regular pay, when the war was at an end they were let loose as free-booters, to live upon the public.

The

The deputies of Lubeck, Hamburg, and Luneburg, waited upon duke Albert, to complain of the outrages of those banditti, and to supplicate for a redress. They reminded him, that before he had been raised to the ducal dignity, and created a prince of the empire, he had given many shining proofs of his piety and justice, especially in protecting the high roads for the security of commerce. But now that he was raised to so high a rank, he seemed, they said, to overlook those enormous crimes, and to suffer depredations and murders to be committed in his dominions with impunity: a connivance that would greatly lessen his reputation among all his neighbours. Duke Albert made answer, that it was owing to the iniquity of the times, as he had many powerful enemies to contend with; and it was impossible for him, in such critical conjunctures, to preserve that strict discipline he desired, lest he should make those bold adventurers his enemies; but as soon as peace could be restored, he would take care to repress their licentiousness. The Hanse towns, dissatisfied with this answer, entered into an alliance with Eric, duke of Saxe-Lawenburg, against duke Albert; and raised an army to invade the country of Mecklenburg. The troops of Lawenburg were commanded by Henry Lutzow, and those of the Hanse towns by Hartwick Ritzerow, an advocate of Lubeck. The forces being joined, directed their march into the county of Schwerin, and laid siege to the castle of Nienkerken, belonging to the above-mentioned family of Zulen. The castle was taken by storm, and six of the ringleaders were put to death: several merchants who had been confined in this place, were released; and the fortress was demolished. Proceeding from thence, they made themselves masters of the castles of Kemmien, Tessien, and Kuffien, belonging to the family of Slucken, and levelled them to the ground. In like manner they also destroyed the castles of Bernstorff, Secher, Niegendorpe, Borgaderstorpe, Lancken, Nannerdorp, Steenhorst, Culpien, Gudow, and Reborst, which were all dens of thieves, and lurking places of banditti.

War with the
banditti.

DUKE Albert was not in the least offended with this proceeding, but acknowledged his error, in having connived at the outrages of those plunderers. He, therefore, was soon reconciled to the Hanse towns; and, upon this occasion, entered into a treaty with them, to render the high roads secure to travellers. In this treaty was also included Otho, count of Schwerin. The tables at this time were turned upon Eric, duke of Saxe-Lawenburg, whose dominions were become the principal shelter of the banditti. The same complaint lay, also, against Magnus, surnamed Torquatus*, duke of Brunswick-Luneburg, who had encouraged those robbers to infest the dominions of Mecklenburg, and to commit great ravages on the frontiers. Duke Albert, after concluding an alliance with the Hanse towns, as also with Otho, duke of Luneburg, resolved to march himself in person, to the extirpation of those pests of society.

War against
the duke of
Saxe-Law-
enburg.

THE troops of Mecklenburg, under the command of their sovereign, soon penetrated into the duchy of Saxe-Lawenburg, to chastise duke Eric for taking those robbers under his protection. Duke Eric's name is seldom made honourable mention of in the histories of the age in which he lived. His ambition prompted him to make his neighbours uneasy by a variety of pretensions and claims, which, however, he had not sufficient power to support. The banditti in the duchy of Lawenburg, were, probably, duke Eric's soldiers, who had been employed in asserting the rights of their sovereign, but were unable to raise their pay in any other manner, than had been practised above a hundred years in other parts of Germany. They were

* The cause of this surname is thus related: Magnus, in his younger days, had led a very dissolute life, so as to be a nuisance to his father's subjects, as well as to those of the neighbouring states. The father having, in vain, essayed every gentle method to reclaim him, had recourse, at length, to menaces; declaring he would hang him, if he persisted in committing the same outrages. Magnus laughed at his father's threats; and told his comrades, by way of joke, that should it ever be his fate to be hanged, it should be with a silver chain, on the account of his ducal dignity. And, in derision, he always wore a silver chain about his neck; whence the surname of Torquatus.

privileged to beg wherever they would; but as this could produce but little in Lawenburg, they made up the deficiency with robbing and plundering in other districts, which had been already encumbered with beggars. The great nest of these banditti was the castle of Ratzeburg: duke Eric resident in this place and had, on that very account, incurred a general odium. In his service was the above-mentioned Hartwic of Ritzerow, a person distinguished for his signal bravery. But the troops under the command of the duke of Mecklenburg, having penetrated into the county of Schwerin, and duchy of Lawenburg, made themselves masters of the castles of Darßing and Ratzeburg; and reduced duke Eric to such streights, that he was obliged to submit, and to join with duke Albert in extirpating the robbers. Hartwick of Ritzerow, being perfectly acquainted with their places of shelter, conducted the troops to the castles of Dufow, Lössen, Redevien, Dommenitz, Meyenburg, and Muggenburg, which were all taken and levelled to the ground. The like fate befel the castles of Gorlose and Stavenow. When we reflect on the horrid depredations so often committed in these petty states, we cannot help feeling for the sad condition of humanity, which so long groaned under the lawless exertions of violence; a melancholy consequence of the want of polity and civilization; and the natural result of that wild form of government, or rather, that state of anarchy, known by the name of the feudal system.

Duke Albert afterwards turned his arms against the other great protector of the banditti, Magnus Torquatus, duke of Brunswick-Luneburg, who having been excluded from his succession to the duchy of Luneburg, resolved to maintain his right by force of arms. For this purpose he had collected a body of those ruffians; and, in order to train them to the use of arms, had employed them, for some time, in making incursions into the neighbouring states. But duke Albert soon obliged him to desist from those violences, and even to withdraw his protection from the banditti. Yet these outrages were afterwards repeated; and duke Albert was often at variance

War with
the duke of
Brunswick.

with duke Magnus on that account ; for which reason, in the year 1373, he espoused the cause of duke Wenceslaus of Saxe-Anhalt, whom Otho, duke of Luneburg had appointed his heir. On this occasion, duke Albert made himself master of Domitz, and some other places, of which the house of Mecklenburg has ever since kept possession. But Wenceslaus was disappointed of his aim ; and duke Magnus, or rather his children, acquired the possession of Luneburg *.

1356.
The emperor
Charles IV.
enacts the
Golden Bull.

ABOUT this period was enacted by the emperor Charles IV. the famous constitution of the empire, called the Golden Bull, with the consent of the electors, and a number of princes. This is reckoned a fundamental law of the empire ; the chief articles are as follow : 1. The number of electors is fixed to seven (to whom two more have been since added.) 2. Each of these has a particular office assigned him ; the manner of exercising this office is prescribed, and, at the same time, the subordinate hereditary officers are nominated, who are to discharge those functions in the absence of the electors, and exclusive of their ambassadors. 3. The ceremony of the election and coronation is regulated ; the first of which is to be performed at Frankfort by a plurality of votes, and the second at Aix-la-Chapelle, by the elector of Cologne. 4. The two vicariates are established ; that of the count Palatine of the Rhine in the territories depending on the Franconian, Bavarian, and Suabian law ; and that of the electors, dukes, and counts Palatine of Saxony, in the territories governed by Saxon law. 5. The electorates are declared indivisible ; the succession therein is regulated according to the right of primogeniture ; and the Agnatic tutelage, or that of the nearest relation, is introduced. 6. The electors are confirmed in all the rights of sovereignty, called territorial superiority. 7. The king of Bohemia is placed at the head of the secular electors, and it is enacted in his favour, that in case of a minority, or in default of relations capable of administering the regency, it shall devolve to the states of the country. This is the substance of that famous law,

* Chemnitz, Latomus, Bechr, Franck.

the first three-and-twenty chapters of which were settled at Nurenberg, and the following eight at the diet of Metz that same year. The original is preserved at Frankfort; it is written in the Latin tongue on very ordinary parchment, with a great seal of gold fastened to the bottom by strings of yellow and black silk. At the diet of Metz, where this Bull was completed, the emperor Charles IV. held his grand court, and was waited upon at table by the great officers of the crown *.

C H A P. III.

Disturbances in Sweden between king Magnus and his son Eric. Treaty of accommodation concluded by the mediation of duke Albert of Mecklenburg. Duke Albert concludes a compact of inheritance with his cousins of Werle; and marries his daughter Ingeburga to Lewis the Roman. New privileges granted to the city of Rostock. Duke Albert joins with the Hanse towns in the war with Waldemar, king of Denmark. Peace concluded at Lubeck. War between duke Albert and the duke of Saxe-Lawenburg. Long sleep of a student at Lubeck. Assembly in that city, where duke Albert acts as moderator between the counts of Holstein and the city of Hamburg.

WHILST this renowned emperor was usefully employed in securing the tranquility of Germany by salutary laws, the fury of civil discord in Sweden rekindled her fatal torch, and spread its destructive flames among the neighbouring potentates of the north. Duke Albert being nearly related to that crown, was unavoidably involved in this important contest, which afterwards, by a turn of fortune in favour of his own family, contributed to its exaltation to the regal dignity. The perspicuity of history requires, that we should trace these disturbances to their source; it will be, therefore, proper to resume our narrative of the affairs of Sweden, beginning from the elevation of Magnus Smeck to the throne of that kingdom †.

* Heifs, Barre, Pfeffel.

† See pag. 140, 141.

MAGNUS SMECK * was only an infant three years of age, when the Swedes raised him to the throne, in 1319, in the room of king Birger II. who having thrown his own brother, the father of this young prince, into prison, there cruelly starved him to death. The states appointed Matthias Kettelmundson, a person of great merit, and a consummate statesman, for the young king's guardian. During the life of this great and able minister, Magnus's reign was glorious and fortunate. He was not only king of Norway, in right of his mother, but the rich and extensive province of Schonen had likewise surrendered itself voluntarily to the crown of Sweden; and Walde-mar, king of Denmark, found it vain to make any opposition. This prosperity of the kingdom of Sweden induced the princes of Mecklenburg, Henry the Lion and his son Albert, to court the alliance of that crown: and hence it was, that the latter espoused the sister of king Magnus, the princess Euphemia. But little did the king, or his guardian, or even duke Albert himself imagine, at that juncture, that this marriage would give birth to a prince, by whom king Magnus was, one day, to be dethroned. Such, however, was the order of Providence: but, it must be acknowledged, king Magnus himself had greatly contributed to this revolution, by his imprudent administration. And yet it is possible, that the accusations brought against that unhappy prince, are not all conformable to truth; but that the spirit of faction and discontent, has surmised him guilty of more crimes than he really committed.

Bad conduct
of king
Magnus.

GREAT part, however, of this prince's misfortunes, were owing to the ill-conduct of his queen, a woman of a proud, haughty spirit, and of insatiable ambition, to which she sacrificed every consideration in life. This was the princess Blanche, daughter of the count of Namur, whom Magnus espoused upon coming to years of maturity. His guardian, Matthias Kettelmundson, dying soon after, he took the reins of government into his own hands. But his administration was as inglorious, as his life proved irregular and debauched. He paid no respect to age and experience, but was intirely directed

* Smeck signifies a diminisher, because he diminished the dominions of Sweden.
by

by rash and inconsiderate young people. To complete his misfortune, the queen was assiduous in promoting her minions, (of whom she had brought great numbers from her own country) to the highest offices, for which they were utterly unqualified; while the Swedes, of discernment and merit, were despised and neglected. This partiality, however, not only drew an odium upon herself, but alienated the affections of the people from her husband. By this princess king Magnus had two sons, Eric and Haquin, both of them hopeful princes, and beloved by the people. Magnus had now reigned in peace the space of twelve years, since the death of his guardian, when he wantonly engaged in a war against the Russians. In order to defray the charges of this expedition, in which he had no other view, than to signalize himself by his exploits, that is, to sport with the lives of mankind, he levied several new taxes on his subjects, by which they were grievously oppressed. Among other hardships complained of, was the introduction of a body of foreign cavalry, which Henry, count of Holstein, had brought over from Germany. Having prepared every thing for the campaign, he began his march against the Russians; and, penetrating into their country, made himself master of the castle of Noteburg, and all the territory adjacent. But, notwithstanding these successes, he suffered himself to be surprized by the enemy, during a suspension of hostilities, which he had concluded with them for two months. Magnus was then obliged to retire from Russia with disgrace; and the Swedish garrison, which he left behind him at Noteburg, was intirely put to the sword. The whole province of Finland would have been laid waste, on this occasion, had he not thought proper to relinquish part of Carelia to the Russians. The Swedes, nevertheless, retook it some time after, though the Russians insisted on the terms of the treaty concluded with Magnus.

BUT as this prince had been obliged to levy new taxes on the people, in order to carry on the Russian war, he was under the unhappy necessity of having recourse to the same expedient, to enable him to discharge the debts contracted during the late expedition.

pedition. The same necessity of affairs constrained him to mortgage the crown lands; and, among the rest, he pledged the town of Calmar to Henry, count of Holstein, for a sum of money. This was sufficient to excite a general murmuring amongst the people; but there were other complaints against the unfortunate Magnus. The pope had excommunicated this prince, for having converted to the uses of the Russian war, the money called St. Peter's-pence, which Olaus, one of his predecessors, had granted to the see of Rome. On the other hand, the public was incensed at his extravagant fondness for a worthless favourite. For, as an acute writer observes, the people prefer even a vicious prince, who knows how to govern, to a weak sovereign, who is swayed by favourites. Thus the Parthians, after deposing Artabanus on account of his cruelty, restored him again to the throne, when they found that Tiridates, whom they had substituted in his stead, was intirely governed by his favourite Abdageses*. This object of the popular odium in Sweden, was a private gentleman, named Bengt, or Bennet, son of Algot, and judge in West Gothland. So lavish was he of his favours to this youth, that he made him duke of Halland; and, what is still more surprizing, the queen herself was equally charmed with his conversation, and carried her affection for him beyond all the bounds of decency. The favourite, intoxicated with success, abused his power; this rendered his master contemptible; and the people began to think that a prince, who thus suffered himself to be governed, was not worthy to reign.

Magnus deposed, and the crown conferred on his son Eric.

THESE repeated grievances, induced the senate to present an address to Magnus, that he would resign the kingdom of Sweden to Eric his eldest son. Whether their design was, by this step, to induce the king to reform his conduct, and to govern the state with greater equity and justice, or, whether they really intended to chuse another sovereign in his stead, the address was not at all agreeable to Magnus. But when a nation is op-

* Inane nomen apud imbellem externa mollitia, vim in Abdagesis domo. Tacit. an. 6.

pressed,

pressed, despair is apt to stifle all sentiment of duty. Magnus refusing to comply with the advice of his senate, the whole body of the nobility rose up in arms, and conferred the crown on his son Eric.

MAGNUS being obliged to retire into Schonen, applied to the king of Denmark for succours, in order to recover his dominions. But Waldemar made him sensible, that his application would be ineffectual, except he agreed to restore the province of Schonen to Denmark. Thus the negotiation proved abortive. It was renewed, however, some time after; a conference being held in the city of Lunden, where three Danish, and three Swedish prelates, endeavoured to promote a reconciliation between Magnus and his subjects; and to establish a lasting peace between Denmark and Sweden. But the restitution of Schonen proved an insuperable obstacle to the treaty.

MEAN while Magnus and his son Eric, assisted by their adherents, waged war against each other with the most implacable fury. Eric had succeeded so far in his first attempt, as to oblige his father's minion to quit the kingdom; and in a second engagement, where he had also the advantage, he deprived him of life. Magnus, desirous of revenging this affront, had sent his wife Blanche into Denmark, to sue for succours to king Waldemar. This step only increased the resentment of the nobility, who were afraid lest so artful a politician as Waldemar should deceive king Magnus to the prejudice of Sweden. Thus they grew more firmly attached to Eric; and things were carried to such an extremity, that the kingdom of Sweden was become a scene of bloodshed and confusion.

SUCH was the melancholy situation of affairs in that country, when duke Albert of Mecklenburg, who was so nearly related to the Swedish crown, thought proper to offer his mediation, in conjunction with his son-in-law Adolphus, count of Holstein. The friendly proposal, at length, was accepted; and, an assembly being appointed to be held at Jenkopping, duke Albert with his two sons, Henry and Albert, attended by a strong body of troops to enforce his mediation, went over to

Civil war
between
Magnus and
his son Eric.

1356.
A treaty of
peace con-
cluded by
the media-
tion of duke
Albert.

Sweden. After warm debates, the contest, at length, was settled, and a treaty concluded, by which Magnus was to resign a moiety of the kingdom to his son Eric, and to consent to his enjoying, also, the regal title. The father had, for his share, Upland, Gothland, the provinces of Wermland, and Dalecarlia; with the northern part of the province of Halland, West-Gothland, and the isle of Oeland: on the other hand, the son was to have, for his share, Schonen, Bleking, and the southern part of the province of Halland; together with Smaland and Finland. Magnus was, likewise, obliged to promise he would deliver up to king Eric, all the papers and records relating to Schonen; the states being sensible, that the king of Denmark aimed at making himself master of that province. In return for the services done by duke Albert, on this occasion, both to the kingdom and the royal family, by preventing a further effusion of blood, king Eric ceded to him the castles of Schanoer and Falsterbode, with all their appurtenances; and the parish of Fuelsöcken, to have and to hold during the space of twelve years. King Eric, likewise, invested both the duke's sons with the principality of South-Halland; and with the lordships of Biergeheret and Noridiseheret, in the province of Schonen. Thus were the flames of this cruel and unnatural war extinguished for some time; and the duke, with both his sons, set sail again for his own dominions*.

1356.
Duke Albert
concludes a
new compact
of inheri-
tance with
his cousins of
Werle.

Duke Albert
marries his
daughter In-
geburga to
Lewis the
Roman.

ONE of the first actions of duke Albert, upon his return to Mecklenburg, was to conclude a solid and lasting peace with the princes of Werle, whose alliance had been lately courted in a particular manner by the margraves of Brandenburg. The duke being sensible, that such an alliance boded no good to his family, endeavoured to defeat it by the present treaty of peace and inheritance, in which he was joined by his brother John, duke of Stargard. Soon after this thorough reconciliation of the two branches of Werle and Mecklenburg, the duke fulfilled his engagement with Lewis the Roman, by marrying his daughter Ingeburga to that prince, in pursuance of a former

* Crantz. Chemn. Latom. Pontan, Puffendorff, Spener, Hubner, Franck.

treaty.

treaty. This might also be a stroke of policy, in hopes of making a friend of that elector (who had lately succeeded Lewis his brother) in attempting the recovery of the county of Schwerin. The particulars of that transaction have been already related at large *, where we have seen duke Albert's success, and the great acquisitions which he procured to his family. We shall only add to the preceding account, that, in order to raise the money he had agreed to pay to count Nicholas of Tecklenburg, for the county of Schwerin, he was obliged to have recourse to the inhabitants of Rostock. This city had, for some time, enjoyed a state of tranquility, during which, its commerce rose to a flourishing condition. In the year 1257, prince Henry Burevinus had favoured the magistrates of that town with the third part of the judicial power, or civil jurisdiction, in all matters of property. And now they purchased the remaining part of the ducal jurisdiction in civil causes; in consideration of which they paid him two thousand marks of silver. And as it had been hitherto customary, according to the Saxon law, to appeal from Rostock to the courts of Lubeck, the duke granted a farther privilege to the magistrates, to prohibit, or allow, of such appeals as they thought proper. The diploma conferring this jurisdiction, is dated at Wismar, Nov. 29th, 1358, and was confirmed by the duke of Stargard: both the brothers, after conferring a full right of jurisdiction, and patronage of the public schools, ratified all the privileges of the senate and people of Rostock †.

1357.

1358.
He grants
new privileges to Rostock.

ALBERT had now acquired so great a degree of reputation, that whenever any disputes intervened among the neighbouring princes, they thought it incumbent upon them to chuse him for their umpire, or mediator. Of this we have a remarkable instance at this time, in the contest between Lewis the Roman, margrave of Brandenburg, and the duke of Pomerania, concerning the towns of Pasewalck and Torgelow. The nature of the dispute was this: The emperor Charles IV. having, at

1359.
He reconciles the elector of Brandenburg and the duke of Pomerania.

* See pag. 222, 223.

† Crantz. Chemn. Befelen, Lindenberg, Stevern, Franck, Buckholtz.

length, thought proper to grant to Lewis the Roman the investiture of the margraviate of Brandenburg, after the decease of the counterfeit Waldemar in 1356, Lewis began to revive the old feudal claims of his electorate to some districts of Pomerania. The dukes of that country rejecting all such claims, the contest, according to the custom of those days, was likely to be decided by the sword. In this dispute, prince John of Goldberg joined with Brandenburg; and count Ulric of Furstenberg, upon the account of Daber, sided with Pomerania. The chief point related to the above-mentioned towns of Pasewalck and Torgelow, which the elector of Brandenburg demanded of duke Barnim of Stettin. Some hostilities had taken place, when duke Albert interposed, and had the honour of effecting an accommodation between the two parties: the terms of the treaty were, that the town of Pasewalck, and both the old and new town of Torgelow, should be in the possession of the dukes of Pomerania, till the margrave paid thirteen thousand marks of silver for their redemption*.

1358.
1359.
1360.
1361.
Duke Albert
joins with
the Hanse
towns against
Waldemar,
king of Den-
mark.

DURING these disputes, a war broke out between Waldemar, king of Denmark, and the Hanse towns, in which duke Albert would willingly have acted as a mediator, but was obliged, contrary to his inclinations, to take part, on account of the cities of Wismar and Rostock, which were connected with the Hanseatic confederacy. The cities, known by the name of that alliance, were now arrived at the highest pitch of power, having engrossed almost the whole trade of Europe. Their opulence and grandeur began to give umbrage to several princes of the north, but to none more than to king Waldemar. This prince had looked upon them for some time with a jealous eye, and studied every means of reducing their exorbitant power. For this purpose he had concerted measures with other princes, and revoked the privileges which had been granted by his ancestors to their vessels trading in his ports. Not satisfied with these steps, he took every opportunity of distressing them, and of shewing them the highest marks of his displeasure. Having

* Chemnitz, Latomus, Franck, Buckholtz.

lately

lately concluded a treaty with Magnus, king of Sweden, by which he obtained the cession of Schonen, he was called upon by that prince to assist him in punishing his subjects of the isle of Gothland, who refused to pay some new-raised taxes. The imprudent conduct of that prince had now created a general discontent, and thrown the kingdom once more into the greatest confusion. But of this more hereafter. Waldemar availing himself of the opportunity to serve his ally, or rather his own purposes, began with making a descent in the isle of Gothland, where he cut in pieces fifteen hundred of the inhabitants, who stood upon the defensive. Then having made himself master of the open country, he marched his army into the neighbourhood of Wisby. This famous city is situated on the west side of the island, and has a commodious harbour, which rendered it, at that time, one of the principal trading places in the north. It was likewise celebrated for its laws relative to commerce, by which the masters of ships belonging to the Hanse towns, were intirely directed. It was, also, the great staple, or magazine, for the whole trade which the above-mentioned towns carried on throughout the Baltic. Merchants from all parts of the world were settled in this city, and enjoyed such extensive privileges, that they hardly considered themselves as dependent on the king of Sweden. Upon the approach of the Danish army, the inhabitants, willing to save their town from being plundered, opened their gates, and offered a ready submission. This, however, did not prevent the violence of the Danes, who were intirely bent upon booty. Waldemar ordered part of the walls to be demolished, made his army enter by the breach, and seized the immense treasures of this opulent city. In the general pillage, the Danes shewed no more favour to the magazines of the Hanse towns, than to the property of the citizens; and after they had sacked the town, they embarked with the richest booty that, perhaps, had been ever seized by a Danish commander. But the vessel, loaded with the immense treasure of that city, was shipwrecked in its return to Denmark; and the officers, whom

King Waldemar plunders the city of Wisby.

Wal-

Waldemar had appointed in the island, were all massacred soon after his departure.

The Hanse towns declare war against king Waldemar.

Duke Albert joins the Hanse towns.

THE Hanse towns, incensed at these outrages, by which the property of their company had been treated with such rigour, applied to Waldemar for redress. The king received their petition with great contempt; and told them, that he cared no more for their seventy-seven towns*, than for seventy-seven geese†. The Hanse towns, justly offended with this behaviour, determined to be revenged. Their first step, was to seize all the Danish ships in their ports, and to confiscate the effects of the merchants of that nation; after which, they openly declared war against Denmark. So refined was their policy, that they drew into their alliance Albert, duke of Mecklenburg, with the counts of Holstein, and several other princes. The regency of Lubeck fitted out a squadron at its own expence, under the command of the burgo-master, John de Wittenborg. Henry, son of duke Albert of Mecklenburg, was appointed admiral of the confederate fleet. The king of Denmark, hearing of these preparations, equipped a strong squadron, and gave the command thereof to his son, prince Christopher. The two fleets met at sea, and came to an engagement, in which both sides long contended for victory. But the Danish admiral, prince Christopher, happening to receive a mortal wound, the Danes began to be disheartened; and, at length, were obliged to yield to the Hanseatic fleet. This victory did great honour to prince Henry of Mecklenburg.

Various success of the powers at war.

THE Lubeckers, not satisfied with the glory of the late action, were greedy also of booty, the desire of which has wrested the victory out of the hands of many an able general. They

* Such was their whole number; but it was properly no more than the towns of Vandalia and Pomerania, that went to war with the king. These were Lubeck, Rostock, Stralfund, Bremen, Hamburg, Kiel, Wismar, Gripswald, Anclam, Stettin, Stargard, and Colberg.

† The joke is lost in the English language; in the Danish and German it is a play upon words; he cared as little for seventy-seven hanse as for seventy-seven ganse, which last word signifies a goose.

landed a body of troops in the isle of Zealand, and laying siege to Copenhagen (which was not then the capital of the kingdom) they took the fort, and plundered the city. From thence they proceeded to Helsingburg in Schonen, and laid siege to that town. The Danes, taking notice that the Lubeckers had quitted their ships, came and surprized their squadron, took six of their capital vessels, and dispersed the remainder. The Lubeckers, provoked at this loss, carried on the siege with greater vigour; and having made themselves masters of the place, delivered it into the possession of Albert, duke of Mecklenburg. Notwithstanding this success, the burgo-master Wittenborg was greatly censured by the regency of Lubeck for his neglect, in suffering the Danes to surprize his squadron. Upon his return to Lubeck, he underwent the fate that usually attends unfortunate generals in republican governments. Upon every miscarriage, the people, judging only from passion and caprice, become clamorous and impatient for an inquiry into the conduct of their commanders; but whether this indulgence may not have a tendency to render the latter more rash and precipitate, and the former more licentious and intractable, we will not pretend to determine. Certain it is, however, that John de Wittenborg was accused of neglect of duty, and beheaded two years after. The sword used at his execution is still exhibited in the town-house of Lubeck.

WALDEMAR intending to overpower the confederates by an extraordinary effort at sea, early the next year fitted out a formidable fleet, and set sail for the island of Femeren. The natives endeavoured to oppose his landing, but were repulsed, and obliged to submit. In the mean time, part of the fleet steered its course to the neighbourhood of Wismar, which city they had orders to plunder. The inhabitants, not intimidated by the superiority of the enemy's fleet, fitted out a small squadron to watch the motions of the Danes. The seamen of that nation executed their orders with alacrity, but being detained in port by contrary winds, the peasants assembled and attacked them with great fury. The Danes,

1362, or
1364.
Gallant behaviour of
the citizens
of Wismar.

Danes, however, made a very stout resistance, till the people of Wismar filled several small boats with combustibles, which they sent, with a fair wind, into the middle of the king's squadron. The terror and dread of fire had such an effect, that the seamen immediately threw down their arms, and suffered themselves to be conducted prisoners into the city. Among the rest was their admiral, Peter Jernskeg, a great favourite of Waldemar. This signal victory was won in 1364, on the day of St. Processus and Martinian. The number of prisoners on this occasion was so great, that the town-house, and all the public buildings, were crowded with those unhappy people. The Danish admiral was confined to the great wine cellar, along with another officer; but he soon made his escape by means of the following stratagem. He had a trusty friend in the town, who promised to attend him late in the evening on horseback. In the mean time, he contrived to intoxicate his keeper with wine, to such a degree, that he fell into a profound sleep. This gave the admiral an opportunity of stealing the key of the door out of his pocket, and joining his friend, who conducted him out of town to a place of safety.

Peace concluded at
Lubeck.

WHILE duke Albert was employed in this expedition against Denmark, king Waldemar solicited his ally, Eric, duke of Saxe-Lawenburg, to make a diversion in the territory of Mecklenburg. Accordingly, Eric invaded that country in the absence of its sovereign; and, on the feast of St. Bartholomew, possessed himself of the castle and town of Plawe. At the same time king Waldemar, finding himself unable to contend with so many enemies, made proposals of peace to duke Albert, in order to draw him off from the Hanseatic alliance. In consequence of this overture, a conference was held at Lubeck, between king Waldemar and duke Albert, at which the three sons of the latter, Henry, Albert, and Magnus, also assisted. Here they agreed to a suspension of arms, upon the king's paying a thousand marks, which was the portion of his daughter Ingeburga, the wife of prince Henry of Mecklenburg. The ensuing year, a treaty of peace was concluded in the same city,
between

between king Waldemar and the Hanseatic confederacy. It was during this war that the northern nations made use of gunpowder for the first time : this invention, afterwards, proved fatal to the Hanse towns ; the means of taking or destroying them being rendered thereby so easy, that they could no longer be considered as places, where liberty was sure to find an inviolate asylum *.

THE Danish monarch being now reconciled to duke Albert, endeavoured to procure an accommodation between this prince and the duke of Saxe-Lawenburg. For this purpose several conferences were held : at length, a treaty of peace was concluded, on these conditions ; that duke Eric should restore the town and castle of Plaue to the duke of Mecklenburg ; who, on the other hand, should give back the town and district of Boitzenburg to duke Eric ; and, in the mean time, as a security for the performance of this article, he was to deposit the town and fortress of Gadebusch in the hands of king Waldemar. But as soon as the Danish monarch got possession of Gadebusch, forgetting his ally's interest, (which is often the practice of confederate powers) he entered into an agreement with duke Albert, for the latter to deliver up the town and fortress of Helsingburg ; in consequence of which, the Danish garrison was ordered to restore the town of Gadebusch to the duke of Mecklenburg. Eric, highly incensed at this collusion, by which he was deprived of the terms agreed to by treaty, resolved to recover Boitzenburg, if possible, by force of arms. With this view he raised a strong body of forces ; and, marching into the country of Mecklenburg, committed great devastations, in revenge for the injury and affront he had so lately received. Duke Albert being apprized of these outrages, marched with all the troops he could suddenly muster, to defend his country thus suddenly invaded. The two armies met in the plain of Selland, and came to a decisive engagement. After an obstinate conflict, in which the commanders on both sides signalized themselves by the most extraordinary efforts of valour ; fortune, for once, turned her back

War between
duke Albert
and Eric,
duke of Saxe-
Lawenburg.

* Crantz. Chemn. Latom. Lindenb. Stevern, Beehr, Franck, Pontan, Mallet.

to duke Albert. In a word Duke Eric obtained a complete victory; and great numbers of the Mecklenburghers were killed and taken prisoners. A treaty of pacification ensued, the particulars of which we do not find mentioned in history. Probably, king Waldemar interposed, for it does not appear that Eric gained any advantage by the treaty *.

1362.
Assembly at
Stettin.

THE year following Barnim III. duke of Pomerania, held a public assembly at Stettin; at which were present Otho, margrave of Brandenburg (his brother, the late margrave Lewis the Roman, being lately dead), Bugislaus, Barnim IV. and Wartislaus, also dukes of Pomerania, of collateral branches; with Albert and John, dukes of Mecklenburg. The intention of this congress, was to check the insolence of the banditti, who began to lift up their heads since the late disturbances had prevailed in the empire. This, indeed, was a natural consequence of the private wars, so frequent then in Germany, which rendered that country a constant theatre of anarchy and contention. After the conferences were over, several entertainments were exhibited, as tournaments and carousals, according to the custom of those days, when princes endeavoured to vie with each other in the magnificence of public spectacles, and in exhibiting proofs of their personal prowess and agility.

MUCH about this time is said to have happened at Lubeck, an event of so extraordinary a nature, that it will, most probably, be thought by many readers to be calculated for the vana mirantes, or admirers of the marvellous, spoken of by Tacitus. We shall, however, give it a place here, as it is related by an historian of great authority. A young student in the city of Lubeck, finding himself sleepy, in order to enjoy undisturbed repose, shut himself up in a retired closet. Upon his ceasing to appear in school, it was taken for granted that he was gone back to his own country, which was some distant part of Germany. Seven years had elapsed since this opinion prevailed, when an unforeseen accident making it necessary to pull down the wall adjoining to the closet, the workmen found the same

* Crantzius, Chemnitz, Franck.

young man still lying fast asleep. They awaked him; when rubbing his eyes he came to himself, but could not be persuaded that he had slept above a single night. It is natural to suppose, that all present were surprized at so extraordinary a phenomenon. Crantzius, from whom we have taken this story, seems so far to give credit to it, that he proposes a question, Whether it was possible for the humidity of the place, during so long a sleep, to afford a sort of nourishment to a body that could receive no other sustenance. We cite this narrative, because so judicious an historian has thought it not unworthy of his notice; but we can neither vouch for its truth, nor are we disposed to inquire into its credibility.

Soon after the assembly at Stettin, another was held at Lubeck, for terminating the disputes about limits between the counts of Holstein and the city of Hamburg. The affair was referred to the emperor Charles IV. who nominated duke Albert his commissary, to hear the arguments of the contending parties, and to pronounce sentence according to the merits of the cause. Nothing could be a stronger indication of the high esteem in which this prince was held, not only for his military, but for his judicial abilities. The senate of Hamburg appeared before the tribunal at Lubeck, at which duke Albert presided; but those magistrates apprehending, in the course of the trial, that the duke would be partial to the count of Holstein, withdrew before the award was pronounced, and appealed to his Imperial majesty. The duke, notwithstanding, proceeded in the examination of witnesses; and, after mature deliberation, with the advice and counsel of the learned civilians there present, and in conformity to the customs of that country, he condemned the senate of Hamburg for contumacy, and pronounced sentence in favour of Adolphus, count of Holstein. What were the consequences of this decree, we are no where informed; but the disturbances which were revived, at this time, in Sweden, called duke Albert from a judicial court, to a different scene of action, where his spirit was again roused to war, and the efforts

Duke Albert is appointed judge in a difference between the counts of Holstein and the city of Hamburg.

of his valour were crowned by the elevation of his son to the regal dignity *.

CHAP. IV.

Disturbances in Sweden revived. King Eric is poisoned by his own mother. His father king Magnus enters into a strict connection with Waldemar, king of Denmark. The latter plunders the town of Wisby. Proposals of marriage between king Haquin and the princess of Holstein. Melancholy history of that princess. The Swedes being dissatisfied, a revolution ensues in that kingdom. Magnus is deposed, and Albert, the second son of duke Albert of Mecklenburg, is proclaimed king. Struggle between those two princes for the crown. Magnus is defeated and taken prisoner. Misfortunes of Waldemar, king of Denmark. Treaty between Haquin, son of Magnus, and king Albert, by which king Magnus renounces the crown of Sweden.

RECONCILIATIONS between those who have once violated the ties of nature, are seldom lasting or sincere. This is more particularly the case, when ambition happens to be the source of their differences: ambition! that cruel, unrelenting passion, deaf to every tender endearing sentiment; to the warnings of religion and reason; and even to the suggestions of humanity. Never was this observation more strikingly verified than in the civil war, which broke out again at this juncture in Sweden; on one side the parents, and on the other the son, contending for empire; with the sword pointed at each others breasts; lost to parental and filial love, but inflamed with malice and revenge to their mutual destruction.

Disturbances
in Sweden
revived.

NOTWITHSTANDING the agreement concluded in 1356 at Jenkopping †, the Swedes continued to shew every day new marks of affection to the young king Eric; and to discover,

* Chemnitz, Latomus, Franck.

† See pag. 111.

more

more and more, their dislike to his father Magnus. This alarmed his mother, queen Blanche, who was also jealous lest her son, upon taking a partner to his bed, should introduce a rival that might impair her credit and authority. In order to prevent this dreaded consequence, she persuaded her husband to invite his son to court, under pretence of having something important to communicate. The young prince, suspecting no harm from his parents, accepted the invitation. He was received with extraordinary marks of joy, which were succeeded by an event equally tragical. The inhuman queen Blanche had caused poison to be secretly given to her son during a public banquet, at which she had lavished upon him the fondest caresses and endearments. Such is frequently the practice of courts; outward demonstrations of kindness and affection, there serve as vehicles to poison and death. The young king expired twenty days after he had drank this fatal potion; and these were the last words he uttered: "She that gave me life, has now deprived me of it." Depraved as the human species has been in all ages, history affords us but few examples of mothers destroying their children for the sake of empire: that of the empress Irene, bears the nearest resemblance to the present catastrophe: such bloody and atrocious deeds prove to a demonstration, that when ambition is once become predominant in the female breast, the softest emotions of natural affection, are unable to restrain its headlong pursuits. Ambition, love, and superstition, seemed all to have equally conspired to excite this unnatural mother to so detestable a deed. Eric, supported by malecontents, and raised to the throne upon the same level with his father, had, at once, deprived his mother of the power which she had abused; and of a minister, or rather a gallant, who governed her with as absolute a sway, as she ruled her husband. Besides, king Eric having rendered himself obnoxious to the clergy, became odious, by their representations, to his superstitious mother, who, to gratify her passion, stifled the voice of nature, and all remorse and compunction.

1357.
King Eric is
poisoned by
his own mother.

1359.
King Magnus is again invested with the whole government.

He is a dupe to king Waldemar.

THE death of king Eric put his father Magnus in possession of all his dominions, after he had most solemnly protested and sworn, to reform the errors of his former administration, and to govern the state according to the laws of the realm. But instead of performing his promise, he seized every opportunity of being revenged upon the senate, and the rest of the nobility, who, in contempt of his authority, had raised his son Eric to the throne. To effect his purpose, he entered into new connections with Waldemar, king of Denmark; and even went so far, as to pay him a visit at Copenhagen, in company with his consort queen Blanche, and his son Haquin, king of Norway. Upon this occasion, he promised his son Haquin in marriage to the princess Margaret of Denmark, then only six years of age. He likewise was persuaded to surrender to Waldemar, the provinces of Schonen, Halland, and Bleking, which, for some years, had been the bone of contention between the two monarchies. The pretext for this cession was, that his son Haquin should grant them as a support, or dower, for the princess Margaret. In consequence hereof, Magnus delivered up to him all the public instruments and deeds, in virtue of which he had got possession of those countries. At the same time he took particular care not to lay the proceeding before either the senate, or the states of the kingdom, who were highly incensed at a measure so pernicious and disgraceful to the crown of Sweden. This was the occasion of their giving to king Magnus the surname of Smeck, for suffering himself to be ensnared by the Danish monarch, and wheedled, by his wife, out of the barrier of Sweden.

1360.
Waldemar takes possession of Schonen.

WALDEMAR immediately put himself at the head of a powerful army, with which he invaded Schonen, and made himself master of the whole country. To stop the clamour of his subjects, Magnus marched a body of troops, under pretext of preventing the progress of the Danes; but in the main, he acted as if he was come to the assistance of the prince, whom he pretended to oppose. He appeared, indeed, at the head of a few troops; but, instead of giving battle to Waldemar, he suf-

suffered him to take Helsingburg without opposition : at length, throwing off the mask, he concluded a treaty with the Danish monarch, in which the cession of Schonen was confirmed, and the marriage of his son Haquin to the princess of Denmark again resolved upon, in opposition to all the objections against a match, that was, one day, to change the intricate face of things in the north of Europe. Waldemar lost no time in rendering his authority durable in those provinces, and entered into a stricter union and intimacy than ever with Magnus, who promised to consider the Danish king, for the future, as his brother.

THE aversion which the Swedes had conceived to their sovereign, ever since the tragical death of Eric, was now raised to the highest pitch by the cession of Schonen, and by the continuance of an alliance, which portended a series of calamities to that unhappy kingdom. So unnatural a league with the hereditary enemies of his country, could bear no good construction, but was interpreted by the people, as concluded for no other end, than to enslave both nations by the joint efforts of those arbitrary monarchs.

THE whole nation seemed ripe for a revolt ; and Magnus himself was hastening his ruin, by the heavy taxes with which he oppressed his people. At length, the inhabitants of Wisby in the isle of Gothland, refused to pay those extraordinary imposts, and drove away the king's collectors. The same city easily engaged the neighbouring isle of Oeland in the like opposition ; and this spark of sedition was likely to occasion a general conflagration. Magnus not having an army at hand, in whose fidelity he could confide, had recourse to his ally, king Waldemar, giving him to understand, that he should be glad to see his subjects of the isle of Gothland chastised for their revolt. Princes are generally ready to avail themselves of the distresses of their neighbours, to promote their own interests. Waldemar took the hint, and made a sudden descent in the island of Gothland. Many of the inhabitants he put to the sword, and plundered the

1361.
Alliance between Magnus and Waldemar.

Waldemar, at the request of Magnus, plunders the town of Wisby.

* See the particulars of this expedition against Wisby, pag. 245.

opulent city of Wisby *. From the isle of Gothland, he crossed over to that of Oeland, where he acted the same scenes of cruelty. The fortress of Borckholm he carried by storm, and after cutting five hundred of the inhabitants in pieces, he plundered the whole island. Magnus was greatly pleased with the news of those severities, and seemed to place his satisfaction in the ruin of those people, for whose protection and security he had been called to the supreme government of the realm.

1362.
Magnus de-
posed, and
his son Ha-
quin raised
to the throne.

BUT these outrages were productive of the most fatal consequences to both monarchs. The plundering of Wisby, where the Hanse towns had so considerable a magazine of rich commodities, involved king Waldemar in a war with that potent confederacy, the particulars of which have been related in the preceding chapter *. With regard to king Magnus, the states of Sweden, tired with oppression at home, and injuries and affronts from abroad, addressed themselves to Magnus's second son, Haquin, king of Norway, requesting him to undertake the administration of the kingdom, as the only way to prevent its total ruin, since his father seemed not to concern himself in the defence of his dominions. In this critical juncture, Haquin was persuaded to assume the reins of government; and his father was arrested, and confined to the castle of Calmar. The senate now began to entertain hopes, that the affairs of the kingdom would take a more prosperous turn. With this view they entered into an alliance with Henry, count of Holstein; and Albert, duke of Mecklenburg; as also, with the Hanseatic cities, which were inflamed with resentment for the plunder of their magazines at Wisby. One of the first things the senate proposed to Haquin, when they invested him with the government, was to break off all connections with Waldemar, king of Denmark; and especially, not to espouse that prince's daughter Margaret: at the same time they warmly pressed him to marry the young princess Elizabeth, sister of Henry, count of Holstein; in expectation, that with the assistance of this prince, he might be enabled to drive the Danes

* See pag. 244.

out of Schonen, and to revenge the many injuries which Sweden had received from the king of Denmark.

MAGNUS, then a prisoner in the castle of Calmar, pretended to approve of these proposals, which were confirmed by the states and senate of the kingdom. It was then resolved, that Haquin should espouse the princess Elizabeth, who was not less celebrated for her shining virtues, than for her matchless beauty. Her brother, count Henry, was in high reputation for his military abilities, by which he had acquired the surname of Ferreus, or the Iron Count. Haquin seemed to come into their views, and sent a deputation of four-and-twenty persons of the first rank into Holstein, to demand the princess in marriage. The count was pleased with their commission, but appeared diffident of the king's sincerity, knowing him to have been betrothed to the princess Margaret of Denmark. He was sensible, also, that motives of policy alone obliged king Haquin, at this juncture, to court the friendship of Holstein; and that as soon as the present restraint was removed, his affections would most probably turn into another channel. The count, therefore, consented to the match, on condition only, that if Magnus and Haquin refused to fulfil their promise, the nobility and states should be released from their oath of allegiance to Haquin, and be at liberty to chuse count Henry for their sovereign. On the other hand, if Henry, or his brother count Nicholas of Rendsburg, ever opposed the conclusion of this match, the former should forfeit all his right to the town of Calmar, which had been mortgaged to him in the last war between Sweden and Muscovy; and, moreover, should pay to king Haquin sixty thousand marks in silver. The conditions being agreed and sworn to, the young princess was espoused, with great magnificence, in king Haquin's name, by the chief of the embassy, Herman of Witze, and the usual ceremony of exchange of rings, was performed in the town of Ploen.

Proposals of marriage between king Haquin and the princess of Holstein.

FROM that time, the young princess of Holstein was treated with all the respect and submission due to a crowned head.

Melancholy history of that princess.

Though sailing was dangerous at that season of the year, the new queen of Sweden and Norway embarked at Lubeck in the month of December, amidst the rejoicings and acclamations of a vast concourse of people, in order to take possession of those thrones, which her amiable accomplishments rendered her so deserving of. But far different was the fate which attended this unhappy princess. Scarce had the vessel, on board of which she embarked, set sail, when a violent tempest arose, which drove her on the Danish coast. Waldemar being extremely desirous that his daughter should be married to king Haquin, availed himself of this opportunity, to prevent the intended nuptials between that monarch and Elizabeth of Holstein. He, therefore, ordered this princess, upon her landing, to be conducted to court, where she was received with all the honours due to her birth; and with marks of distinction which, under any other circumstances, would have flattered the vanity of a young princess. This honourable confinement lasted a whole winter, every moment of which, the crafty king Waldemar improved to his advantage. At this very juncture, Magnus, king of Sweden, had escaped from his confinement, and retired to Copenhagen, whither he was soon followed by his unhappy consort, queen Blanche. Some writers affirm, that he was released from his imprisonment by his son Haquin, through pity to his distress, or at the solicitation of queen Blanche, who had a great ascendant over her son Haquin. This, however, is certain, that the young monarch was so blind to his own interest, as to be prevailed on to follow his father and mother into Denmark, and there to espouse the princess Margaret, daughter of king Waldemar. This famous marriage, which afterwards placed the three northern crowns on the head of a woman, was celebrated on the ninth of April 1363, at Copenhagen, and caused as much joy in Denmark, as consternation in Sweden: yet was this joy allayed with some concern for the death of queen Blanche, who was snatched away a few days after this ceremony, by a violent fever *. With regard to the princess Margaret, she

* Puffendorff, without any proof, says, that she was poisoned by king Waldemar; and that prince Christopher, Waldemar's only son, having drank of the poison by mistake,

was then only ten years of age; so that this marriage was not consummated till three years after, when she joined her husband in Norway.

DURING this transaction, Waldemar confined the princess of Holstein, and the Swedish deputies, in a strong castle, to prevent their giving any interruption to his daughter's nuptials. The news of this violence created a general murmur in Germany, and greatly raised the indignation of Albert, duke of Mecklenburg, who was so closely allied to the count of Holstein. In order to set the princess, at liberty, he applied first by letter to Waldemar, representing to that monarch, in the strongest light, the atrociousness of the outrage, and the ill consequences with which it might be attended. That the detention of Elizabeth, and her retinue, had given the highest offence to all Germany; and that several of the most respectable princes of the empire, and himself among the rest, were determined to assert the cause of an injured princess. But these representations having no effect, duke Albert had recourse to arms. This gallant prince had imbibed the spirit of chivalry, which still prevailed at that time; the distress of a virtuous lady roused all his fire and zeal; so that he was determined to expose himself to the most perilous adventures, and even to encounter the gigantic Waldemar, in order to rescue so fair a captive from the hands of violence. The posture of affairs was, at that time, favourable to the duke, the old quarrel having been lately revived between king Waldemar and the Hanse towns. The duke having joined the latter, sailed to the Danish coast with a powerful fleet, made several descents, and laid waste the maritime parts with fire and sword. The king was then obliged to have recourse to a negotiation, in order to appease his enemies. He satisfied the Hanse towns on the Baltic, by the interposition of Barnim, duke of Stettin; granting them

Duke Albert
goes to war
with king
Waldemar.

mistake, met with the same fate; but Crantzius says positively, that prince Christopher died in 1361, of the wound he received in the naval engagement with the Hanse fleet, commanded by prince Henry of Mecklenburg.

such conditions as were highly beneficial to their fishery, and their commerce, the only advantage a trading people can propose to themselves in going to war. With regard to the princess Elizabeth, and her retinue, he consented to set them free, and delivered them up to duke Albert. The duke conducted them to Stockholm, whither king Magnus and his son Haquin were now returned from Copenhagen. Though the anecdotes of all courts abound with instances of fraud and falsehood, there is not, upon record in history, an example of more base and ungenerous behaviour, than that of king Magnus and his son Haquin, to the virtuous and accomplished princess Elizabeth. King Magnus received her upon her arrival at Stockholm, with the utmost coldness and indifference; and his son positively refused to fulfil his contract with the court of Holstein. Not even Punic faith, though infamous, and branded to a proverb, can equal this flagrant breach of all the laws of honour and humanity. The princess, greatly mortified at so cruel an affront, instead of returning to Holstein, formed a resolution to renounce a world, that had treated her with such indignity. She accordingly took the veil in the monastery of Wadstena in Sweden; and religion, the constant resource of the virtuous mind in afflictions, consoling her for her past sufferings, she there ended her days, remote from the deceit of courts, and all the fleeting scenes of worldly grandeur.

The Swedes being dissatisfied, a revolution ensued.

THE behaviour of Haquin to this unfortunate lady, alienated the minds of the Swedes as much from the son, as they had been estranged before from the father. By Haquin's marriage to the princess of Denmark, they considered themselves as betrayed; they resolved, therefore, to get rid of a family that had trampled upon their liberties, and sacrificed the honour and prosperity of the kingdom. On this occasion, the deputies that had attended the princess of Holstein, and some other members of the council, represented to Magnus, that he had violated the treaty concluded with the count of Holstein, and reminded him of the consequences. The king, instead of benefiting by their remonstrances, flew into a violent passion, and drove the deputies,

ties, with the rest of the complainants, out of the kingdom. They retired to Mecklenburg, where they were kindly received by duke Albert, in spite of the many representations and menaces from king Magnus.

THE violence of these proceedings having raised the discontent of the nobility to the highest pitch, and ripened matters for a revolution, Henry, count of Holstein, princess Elizabeth's brother, sent a letter to the senate and nobility of Sweden, by a person he could confide in, reminding them of their oath, and of the engagement into which they had entered at the late marriage-treaty between king Haquin and his sister. The messenger found the nobility, not only dissatisfied with the base treatment of the princess, but likewise ready to perform their promise, according to the late treaty. In consequence of this engagement, they deputed two bishops, Nicholas of Lincoping, lord chamberlain, and Thomas of Wexion, lord chancellor, with the crown marshal, and several other lords, to wait upon the count of Holstein, and to offer him the crown of Sweden. This sage prince, who was now advanced in years, and thoroughly acquainted with the situation of affairs in that kingdom, where he had considerable possessions, made answer to the nobles: That he thanked them for the honour they intended him; he was stricken in years, and too infirm to bear the weight of a crown; he therefore recommended to them to apply to his brother-in-law *, duke Albert of Mecklenburg, whose wife being sister of king Magnus, had the next right to the crown; that she had been blessed with a blooming progeny, three hopeful princes, who must of course be dear to the Swedish nation: that the duke had deserved greatly of the exiled lords, by the generous manner in which he received them, not to mention what he had done towards releasing them from their confinement in Denmark. Therefore, if they would accept of one of that prince's sons for their king, he would give his consent to their choice, by which means they would fulfil their engage-

Magnus is
deposed.

* His wife Anne was sister to duke Albert of Mecklenburg.

ment.

ment. The Swedish lords accordingly repaired to Mecklenburg. After some deliberation, they passed by prince Henry, duke Albert's eldest son, doubtless on account of his having espoused a Danish princess, and of the great aversion the Swedish nation had to her father, king Waldemar. In other respects, prince Henry had qualities sufficient to recommend him to the Swedish crown, and gave afterwards extraordinary proofs of his capacity for government, especially in his strict regard to justice. The lords, therefore, fixed their choice on the duke's second son, a young prince of great accomplishments, named Albert, after his father, and married to Richardis, countess of Schwerin. We have already mentioned, that duke Albert, and his three sons, had been invested by king Eric, the son of Magnus, with the principalities of South-Halland, and some other lordships in Sweden. They were, therefore, considered as co-estates of that kingdom, a circumstance which must have recommended prince Albert to the whole nation. The duke having given his consent, they conducted prince Albert to the isle of Gothland, where they proclaimed him king. His father arriving soon after with a strong squadron, they sailed directly to Stockholm, and soon made themselves masters of that capital on the thirtieth of November. This is not at all surprizing, as the exiled lords had a strong party in the town, and king Magnus had incurred the general hatred of the people.

1363.
Albert, the
second son
of the duke
of Mecklen-
burg, is pro-
claimed king.

AFTER the surrender of the capital, the nobles in opposition to king Magnus were summoned, and a general assembly of the states was held at Upsal. Here they published the motives, for which they resolved to withdraw their allegiance from king Magnus, and no longer to acknowledge that prince for their sovereign. The marshal of the diet, Charles of Thupta, opened the assembly with an eloquent speech. The king was cited to appear before the states; and, upon his refusing to comply, they declared him to have forfeited the regal dignity. The principal charges they alledged against him were, that by his calumnies he had occasioned a general scandal throughout
the

the kingdom; that he had refused to perform his engagements, and broke the promises which he had confirmed upon oath; that by delivering up to the king of Denmark the instruments and records relating to the possession of Schonen and Halland, he had maliciously and designedly alienated those provinces from the crown of Sweden; that he had suffered the Danes to ravage the isles of Oeland and Gothland; that by the marriage of his son Haquin, he had contracted an alliance with Waldemar, the declared enemy of the Swedish kingdom; that he had loaded his subjects with extraordinary and oppressive imposts; and finally, that he had endeavoured to extirpate the chief of the nobility. When they had thus divested Magnus of the regal dignity, they repaired to the famous place, called Kin's stone, in the plains of Mora; and the nobles on horseback, in pursuance of ancient custom, proclaimed prince Albert of Mecklenburg, their lawful sovereign. The new king having taken the coronation oath, to observe the laws of the realm, was conducted, in great pomp, to the cathedral at Upsal, and crowned amidst the joyous shouts and acclamations of the people*.

NOTWITHSTANDING the elevation of king Albert to the Swedish throne, he was still very far from being master of the whole kingdom. Magnus had a powerful party in Sweden; besides, he was sure of receiving succours from Denmark and Norway; and king Waldemar was still in possession of some fortresses in Sweden. This crafty prince had, probably, a view of bringing that kingdom under the Danish yoke: he entered, therefore, into a strict alliance with Haquin, and his father Magnus, and engaged to assist them in this war against the Holsteiners, Mecklenburghers, and the Hanse towns, by whom king Albert was supported. Magnus, being determined not to resign the crown, prepared to make head against his enemies. Having been joined by a considerable

Struggle between the two princes for the crown.

* Crantzius, Chemnitz, Latomus, Spener, Lindenberg, Hubner, Beehr, Franck, Puffendorff.

1365.
Magnus is
defeated and
taken pri-
soner.

number of Danish and Norwegian troops, he marched in conjunction with his son Haquin, into the province of Upland, with a design of driving Albert intirely out of Sweden. But the fortune of war did not prove favourable to his cause. The two armies came, at length, to a decisive engagement near Lyncoping, in Upland, where the fate of the contending sovereigns, after a most obstinate struggle, was determined by the captivity of Magnus. This great victory was owing chiefly to the valour and skill of duke Albert, who commanded his son's army. Haquin, though dangerously wounded, made his escape back to Norway; and his father Magnus was carried to Stockholm, where he remained seven years in close confinement.

King Albert
concludes a
peace with
Denmark.

KING Albert, intending to make a proper use of his victory, laid siege to the several castles, which still held out for Magnus: but his progress, at first, did not answer his expectations, as the kings of Denmark and Norway sent constant supplies of fresh troops into Sweden, to succour the besieged. Among the rest, the castle of Abo, in Finland, defended itself for a long time; and Nils Tureson, the grand bailiff, (or high steward) of the kingdom, was killed before the town. At the same time it was expected that another army of Danes and Norwegians would soon be poured into Sweden, and the kings of Denmark and Norway undertake to release king Magnus from his captivity. This apprehension, together with the difficulty of reducing the different fortresses of the kingdom, made king Albert think of concluding a separate peace with the Danish monarch. Waldemar, perceiving that this was the critical juncture for humbling Sweden by his own aggrandizement; and having reaped no advantage, as yet, from the war, easily forgot that he had drawn the sword only to assert the rights of Magnus and Haquin; and, according to the maxims of worldly wisdom, thought it most expedient to sacrifice the interest of those princes to his own emolument. Besides, he began to be apprehensive, that, when Haquin obtained the peaceful,

ful sovereignty of the kingdoms of Sweden and Norway, he would think of recovering Schonen, with the loss of which the Swedes were so sensibly afflicted. Thus was this otherwise artful prince blinded by his great avidity, and fell into the snare laid for him by his enemies. The duke of Mecklenburg, and king Albert's brothers, went over to Denmark, to engage him to withdraw his troops from Sweden, in consequence of which they were ready to conclude a separate peace, greatly to the advantage of Denmark. This was the subject of several conferences, during which, a preliminary convention was drawn up, which the duke promised for himself, and in behalf of the king and senate of Sweden, to see executed before Candlemas-day, the ensuing year 1367. The above convention contained in substance, that the prisoners, on both sides, should be restored; that the ten thousand marks of silver, which the king of Denmark owed to prince Henry of Mecklenburg, for his daughter's dower, should be paid; that king Albert, with the consent of the senate and states of the kingdom, should cede to king Waldemar for ever, and in full sovereignty, the island of Gothland, with the town of Wisby, the country of Verendia, containing part of Smaland; the districts of Wennewid, Kind, and Marck, in West-Strogotha; the castle of Elfsburg, opposite to Gothemburg; with the moiety of Hisingen, an island towards the ocean, between Baheurs and Gothemburg; that all the districts, and strong holds, in Sweden, now in the possession of the king of Denmark, should be given up to him, and his successors, for ever; and that king Albert, and the duke of Mecklenburg, should guarantee those new acquisitions to him, with all their power. On the other hand, the king of Denmark engaged to support king Albert on the throne of Sweden, and to secure to duke Albert the possession of the duchy of Mecklenburg, the county of Schwerin, and the lordship of Rostock. King Magnus was not to be set at liberty, till he had ratified the concessions made to the Danish monarch. King Albert, and the duke of Mecklenburg, were to conclude no treaty, or alliance, with king Haquin, till this young prince had confirmed the above convention; and in case he

1366.

1367.

refused it, and should continue to wage war against king Albert on that account, Waldemar should succour the latter with all his forces. For the performance of all, and each of these articles, the sureties were king Albert, his father and brothers, the archbishop, bishops, chapters, and abbots, the senate, fifty gentlemen, and ten burghers of the principal towns in the kingdom.

SUCH are the precise terms of this treaty, which, if carried into execution, would have been the most advantageous that Denmark had concluded for many years. The duke had signed the treaty, and was guarantee for the ratification of the king and states of Sweden. But it was so obvious, that the states would not consent to the dismembering of so considerable a part of the kingdom, that it is surprizing Waldemar could ever depend on a promise, which the duke, had he been sincere, never had it in his power to perform. However, the duke had appeased the storm, which threatened the king, his son ; and Waldemar kept possession of his conquests in Sweden.

1368.
Misfortunes
of Walde-
mar.

A PERFECT harmony seemed now to be established between the Danish and Swedish nations ; and Waldemar flattered himself, that he had secured the tranquility of his dominions, by terminating the war with Sweden. But he had lulled himself into a deceitful security ; domestic disturbances arose in Denmark, which, joined with foreign invasions, threw this unhappy prince into a sea of troubles and vicissitudes. Whether it was owing to the too great severity of this monarch, in administering justice, or to his levying new taxes, in order to carry on such frequent wars, a general discontent arose among the principal of the nobility, who, to glut their revenge, resolved to call in a foreign power to their assistance. For this purpose, the chief of the male-contents in Jutland, Stig Anderson, Nicholas Lembeck, and Benedict Amefeld, settled the plan of this conspiracy, and proposed a conference with the duke of Mecklenburg, and the counts, Henry and Nicholas, of Holstein. These princes being ready to seize the opportunity of weakening so powerful and troublesome a neighbour, accepted of the proposal from the Jutland nobility, whom they met

met the beginning of this year at Wismar. There they concluded two remarkable treaties, one of alliance, and the other of partition. By the first, the duke of Mecklenburg, the counts of Holstein, and the revolted Jutlanders, promise to give each other all manner of assistance; and engage not to conclude a peace without the unanimous consent of their whole party. By the second, each of the allies is allowed his portion of Waldemar's spoils; and particularly, the counts of Holstein are permitted to preserve the conquests that shall be made in Langland, Fionia, and Jutland. King Albert, of Sweden, soon acceded to these treaties, and agreed with them for his share of the kingdom, which they were about to dismember. The isle of Gothland, which had been ceded to Denmark in 1366, was comprized in this portion; and, in all probability, king Albert recovered it at this juncture. To complete king Waldemar's misfortunes, the Hanse towns, also, entered into this alliance; the three years truce which they had concluded with the king in 1364, being expired at this critical juncture.

WE shall not at present enter into an inquiry concerning the justice of this war, on the side of the allies; jealousy, diffidence, self-preservation, and such like reasons of state, are motives sufficient with most princes for having recourse to the sword. Besides, alliances of weaker states against an overgrown power, are so common in history, that they occasion no sort of surprize. Waldemar, finding himself attacked by so many enemies at the same time, was quite disheartened. Upon the conclusion of the late peace, he had disbanded the greatest part of his troops; so that the allied forces met with very little resistance. While the Hanseatic fleet ravaged the maritime parts of Denmark, the nobles of Jutland, in conjunction with the counts of Holstein, dispersed the few troops that still held for their sovereign. On the other hand, king Albert of Sweden penetrated into Schonen, and made himself master of the greatest part of that province. In this forlorn situation, Waldemar, betrayed by his own

subjects, and not knowing whom to trust, took the desperate resolution of quitting his kingdom, and leaving the administration to the senate, while he went in search of foreign succours. His adventures in this peregrination, as we may call it, are foreign to our history, except his endeavouring to persuade the margrave of Brandenburg to make a diversion in Mecklenburg.

Treaty between king Albert and king Haquin.

1371.

BUT to return to king Albert; the war still continued between him and the king of Norway, in which he had but indifferent success. Haquin, at the head of a powerful army, penetrated once more into Sweden; and, having obliged king Albert to quit the field, went and laid siege to Stockholm. The communication being open by sea, it was not easy to take this capital by force; so that after several fruitless attempts, an accommodation was concluded in 1371. By virtue of this convention, king Magnus was to be set at liberty, upon paying twelve thousand marks for his ransom: he was, likewise, obliged to renounce all claim and pretensions to the crown of Sweden, and acknowledge king Albert as the lawful possessor: for his support, during life, he was to have the revenues of West-Gothland, and of the provinces of Wermland and Dalia; and to spend the remainder of his days in Norway. As a security for this agreement, sixty gentlemen entered into a bond, that in case king Magnus should not fulfil the articles of the treaty, they would repair to Stockholm, and surrender themselves prisoners to king Albert. But the old king strictly adhered to the treaty, being weary of vicissitudes and fruitless contests. Accordingly, he retired to Norway, where he led a quiet easy life, and, perhaps, the happiest he had ever spent, till 1374, when he met his last calamity, being drowned at crossing a ford called Blomenfort, in the neighbourhood of Luingsholm. A general commiseration accompanied him to the grave; the memory of his public faults was lost in that of his private virtues; and they who reviled his administration on the throne, admired his philosophy and resignation in his retirement*.

Unfortunate death of king Magnus.

* Crantzius, Chemnitz, Latomus, Beehr, Buckholtz, Spener, Hubner, Franck, Lyfchander, Lindenburg, Pontan, Mallet, Puffendorff, Rixner.

C H A P. V.

Jealousy of the neighbouring princes against the dukes of Mecklenburg. War with the dukes of Pomerania, Brunswick, Luneburg, and Saxe-Lawenburg. War with the Lubeckers. Misfortunes of the counts of Furstemberg. War with the elector of Brandenburg. Ottho, elector of Brandenburg, sells his electorate to the emperor Charles IV. Duke Albert, and his brother, receive a new investiture of their dominions, and of the ducal dignity. Quarrel between the dukes of Saxony and Brunswick-Luneburg, which turns out to the advantage of the duke of Mecklenburg. The troubles of Denmark continued. Death of king Waldemar. Dispute about the succession between his daughter Margaret and the house of Mecklenburg. Death of the duke of Stargard, and of the emperor Charles. Death of Albert, duke of Mecklenburg.

IN the preceding account of the affairs of Sweden, we have deviated a little from the order of time, to avoid interrupting the thread of that part of our history. We are now to return to the transactions in Germany, and take a view of what passed between duke Albert and the neighbouring princes, after this important revolution in favour of his family.

NEIGHBOURING states are naturally jealous of each other's aggrandizement. This may be accounted for, partly by the principle of self-preservation, and partly by the bent of human nature, which is ever prone to envy. Scarce was duke Albert returned from his expedition to Sweden, whither he went with a view of placing his son upon the throne of that kingdom, when the tranquility of the duchy of Mecklenburg, which, by uncommon good fortune, had been undisturbed in his absence, was greatly interrupted by the dukes of Pomerania. Mention has been already made, of frequent bickerings between those princes and duke Albert, on account of certain districts in the principality

1369.
Jealousies of
the neigh-
bouring
princes a-
gainst the
dukes of
Mecklen-
burg.

lity of Rugen ; bickerings which, at times, were allayed and pacified, and, at times, broke out into an open rupture. Waldemar, King of Denmark, having lately taken refuge in Pomerania ; and, looking upon duke Albert as closely connected with his enemies, spared no pains to stir up the dukes, Wratislaus and Bogislaus, to make a diversion in Mecklenburg ; and his endeavours, at length, were crowned with success. The pretext for this war, alledged by the dukes of Pomerania, was, that ever since the peace of 1353, duke Albert had kept possession of Damgarten, to which they laid claim, as to a town belonging to the principality of Rugen. These princes had drawn into their alliance two powerful neighbours of Mecklenburg, Magnus Torquatus, duke of Brunswick-Luneburg, and Eric, duke of Saxe-Lawenburg, who were also actuated by the same motives of jealousy. The duke of Brunswick laid claim to some part of the county of Schwerin, on the other side of the Elbe, which formerly belonged, as he pretended, to his family. Duke Eric is supposed to have revived the feudal claims of Saxony to the whole county of Schwerin, as a pretext for a war on his side. But these were only frivolous pretences ; jealousy and ambition were the real motives which actuated them, as well as the dukes of Pomerania. For during these times of anarchy, the German princes lived, as it were, in a state of perpetual war, with respect to each other, their quarrels being only suspended by occasional truces ; and it was sufficient reason with them to wage war, that they had an opportunity, or found it convenient, to distress or weaken their neighbour. This was called, in the German language, Faust-Recht, which we may render Club-Law, every prince having a right, proportioned to his strength, to injure and oppress a weaker state. To the above princes were joined the Lubeckers, who embraced this opportunity to assert their pretensions to Boitzenburg, in consequence of the transactions that had passed with the count of Teklenburg*.

* See pag. 226.

DUKE Albert, not in the least intimidated by the number of his enemies, made the necessary preparations for defeating their designs. As the dukes of Pomerania were the first that took the field, he marched in person to meet them, and the two armies appeared in sight of each other at a place between Damgart and Ribnitz. The Pomeranian army was commanded on this memorable day by Wedigo (or Witekind) of Bugenhagen, hereditary marshal of the district of Bart; a general of great bravery and renown. After an obstinate struggle, the Pomeranians lost the field, and their duke Wratiflaus was taken prisoner, together with a great number of the nobility; and, among the rest, their hero Wedigo, of Bugenhagen. The prisoners were conducted to Ribnitz, from whence Bugenhagen made his escape over the walls, but the rest were obliged to pay, at the conclusion of the peace, fourteen hundred and thirty-eight marks of silver for their ransom. Some affirm, that both the dukes were taken prisoners. Be that as it may, a treaty of peace soon after was concluded; and, besides the payment of the above ransom, the dukes were obliged to promise they would assist duke Albert in all his wars with sixty knights, and their attendants. In order to cement this alliance, duke Wratiflaus espoused the princess Anne, daughter of John, duke of Mecklenburg-Stargard. But what is very extraordinary, notwithstanding this complete victory, the principality of Rugen, which had long been the bone of contention between the two families, and the obtaining of which, seemed to be the principal aim and concern of duke Albert in this whole war, was not once mentioned in the treaty of pacification. As if it had been ordained by Providence, that Rugen should always remain united to Pomerania, as it still does, though that princely family is extinct.

1369.
He is attacked by the dukes of Pomerania and Brunswick.

It is mentioned by the historians of those days, that a soldier of the Venedic nation, who had misbehaved in the Pomeranian army, at the late memorable engagement, was condemned to jump into a fire, and that he cheerfully obeyed the sentence, uttering

uttering these words at his execution: "Every thing must be; and this must also be." We trace some vestiges of paganism, as well in the cruelty of this sentence, as in the ready submission of the delinquent. The Venedi were of opinion, that the gods do not concern themselves about the actions of men, but that all events are directed by an absolute fatality*.

Misfortune
of the counts
of Fursten-
berg.

THE most considerable sufferers by the Pomeranian war, were the counts of Furstenberg, the two brothers, Jacob and Gerard, of Dewitz; sons, as we have elsewhere observed, of the first count Otho. These noblemen's estates lay partly in Mecklenburg, and partly in Pomerania; and, therefore, were held of both those sovereigns. In this critical juncture, they were obliged to raise their vassals, or tenants, for the service of the lord paramount; and, as they could not espouse both causes, they unfortunately preferred that of Pomerania. The consequences of this step have been already related†. After they had been declared guilty of felony and rebellion, and deprived of their new dignity by duke Albert; this prince's brother John, duke of Stargard, seized the county of Furstenberg, which devolved to him of course, as lord paramount‡.

1369.
War with
Brunswick-
Luneburg.

WHILE duke Albert was thus victorious against the Pomeranians, duke Henry, his son, was equally successful against the duke of Brunswick-Luneburg. That young prince had been appointed to the command of a body of troops towards the Elbe, and had under him, Henry of Bulow, a gallant and skilful commander. Magnus, duke of Brunswick, having received intelligence of the motions of the Pomeranians, thought it a proper opportunity to make a diversion in favour of his allies. With this view he gathered together all his forces, and passing the Elbe, began to ravage the dominions of Mecklenburg, which bordered upon the banks of that river. Prince Henry

* Chemn. Latom. Bacm. Corner, Lindenb. Schwartz, Micrael, Franck.

† See pag. 221.

‡ Chemnitz, Kluver, Beehr, Franck.

being

being apprized of these outrages, marched with all expedition to the relief of the poor inhabitants, and, at length, came up with the troops of Brunswick, which were busied in pillaging the open country. The surprize was so great on the side of duke Magnus, that his troops were soon routed, and driven, with great slaughter, across the Elbe. In the confusion, multitudes were drowned, and a great number taken prisoners, of whom sixty were persons of rank; and, among the rest, the two counts of Diepholt. Duke Magnus himself narrowly escaped, and was obliged to pay a considerable ransom for the prisoners. In consequence of this victory, a peace was concluded with Magnus, as well as with the duke of Saxe-Lawenburg. This peace, or rather truce, was to last eight years; and the year following, the enemy were obliged to pay three thousand marks for the ransom of their prisoners*.

AMONG the many enemies of the house of Mecklenburg, none behaved with blacker ingratitude than the inhabitants of Lubeck. Their aim was the acquisition of Boitzenburg, a town that commands the passage of the Elbe, which would have been a great advantage and security to their commerce. But their designs were frustrated. The duke, with indignation, heard of this city's entering into an alliance with his enemies, after the many favours received from his ancestors, by whose assistance they had chiefly obtained the dignity of an Imperial city; and after the numerous privileges which he himself had granted them, relative to their commerce with his own subjects. This was a sufficient provocation for him to fall upon their lands and estates, which lay intermixed with the territory of the duke of Saxe-Lawenburg. For this purpose, he marched an army into that duchy, and made himself master of the castles of Dersow and Scharpenberg. From thence he proceeded to Ratzeburg, which he obliged to surrender; and having ravaged the lands belonging to the Lubeckers, in revenge for their ingratitude, he returned with a considerable booty. The count of Tecklenburg, who had persuaded the Lubeckers

War with
Lubeck.

* Ibid.

to commit hostilities on the duke's territories, reaped this advantage from their folly, that the duke was enabled, by the contributions raised on their lands, to pay him great part of the money due for the county of Schwerin. The Lubeckers were obliged to sue for peace, which was granted them upon making a proper submission *.

Duke Albert's behaviour to the bishop of Ratzeburg.

UPON this occasion, the duke shewed his strict regard to justice, in indemnifying those innocent persons, who, in the course of this war, had been considerable sufferers by the incursions of his armies. Among these were the bishop and chapter of Ratzeburg, whose lands had undergone the same fate as those belonging to Lubeck, being intermixed with them. The bishop, whose name was Henry II. threatened to proceed against duke Albert with ecclesiastical censures, unless the damage was repaired; but there was no occasion for his coming to this extremity; the duke was concerned for the ravages that had attended the war, and ready to grant any reasonable indemnity. At length, he compromised the matter, by conferring on the bishop, the right of patronage of the benefices in Wismar and Grevesmuhlen, which had hitherto belonged to his family †.

1370.
War with
Brandenburg.

WHILE duke Albert was engaged in this war, which had been kindled by two such powerful neighbours, at both ends of his dominions, a third enemy started up, namely, Otho, margrave of Brandenburg, and brother to Lewis the Roman. This prince thought proper to lay claim, at this juncture, to several districts, which had been dismembered from the electorate, and ceded, by his predecessors, to the house of Mecklenburg. But as the duke had so many enemies already upon his hands, he judged it most prudent, to enter into a negotiation with the margrave; in consequence of which, he gained some time, and an armistice was concluded till the Easter of the following year; at the expiration of which, if the matters in dispute could not be settled in the intermediate time, both parties should declare war. Things were in this situation, when Frederick, count

* Crantzius, Chemnitz, Latomus, Beehr, Franck, Buckholtz.

† Chron. Ratz. apud Westphal. Diplom. Ratz. Kluver, Hubner, Crantz.

Palatine of the Rhine, and duke of Bavaria, endeavoured to reconcile the two princes. What contributed to his taking this step was, the intelligence he had received, that by a strange vicissitude of affairs, duke Albert had concluded a treaty of alliance with Eric, duke of Saxe-Lawenburg. Eric had entered into the late war against Mecklenburg, at the instigation of the duke of Brunswick, in hopes of dismembering the county of Schwerin. But they had both been disappointed, and repulsed with great loss; and Magnus seemed willing to indemnify himself, at the expence of his ally the duke of Lawenburg. Such differences are not unusual among allies, who, when disappointed in their aim against the common enemy, have been often known to wreak their vengeance upon each other. Eric, having intelligence of Magnus's malicious designs, thought it the most prudent step he could take, at this juncture, to enter into an alliance with duke Albert, a prince of known probity and valour. Albert, in good policy, accepted the proposal, and a treaty was soon concluded between them; by which they engaged to support each other, the one against the duke of Brunswick-Luneburg, and the other against Otho of Brandenburg. This treaty had such an effect on duke Magnus, that he dropt his enterprize against the duchy of Lawenburg. But Otho, margrave of Brandenburg, was not so prudent. Deaf to the counsels of Frederick, elector Palatine of the Rhine, he made a sudden irruption into the principality of Stargard, where he reaped no laurels. Duke Albert, and his brother John, having drawn together their forces, marched to give him battle, which was soon decided in their favour. The Brandenburgers were totally routed, with the loss of great numbers, killed and taken prisoners. Among the latter was prince Bernard, of Werle, who had been unhappily inveigled into this unnatural alliance against his own family. In consequence of this victory, a peace was soon concluded; the chief conditions of which were, that the towns, or districts, in the margraviate, which had been mortgaged to the house of Mecklenburg for eighteen thousand marks, should be restored upon payment of

1371.

Duke Albert
defeats the
elector of
Brandenburg.

four thousand six hundred marks; but Furstenberg and Marnitz, with the whole principality of Stargard, should be ceded for ever to the dukes of Mecklenburg; and that the prince of Werle, with the rest of the prisoners, should be set at liberty, upon paying a thousand marks of silver, Brandenburg weight, for their ransom. The margrave is said not to have observed that treaty. From hence we may form a judgment of the spirit of the times, which present us with constant bickerings, and little wars, short intervals of peace, numerous negotiations and treaties, but few of them fulfilled, or rightly carried into execution.

THE frequent wars in which duke Albert had been involved, by the ambition, or jealousy, of his neighbours, must have often distressed him, and rendered it extremely difficult to raise the necessary supplies for his armies. Of this we have an instance, at the present juncture, when he was obliged to mortgage the little town of Sulte to Frederick of Bulow, bishop of Schwerin, for six hundred marks of silver, Cologne weight. A plain proof that he did not enrich himself by the elevation of his son Albert, nor fill his coffers with the spoils of his enemies.

1373.
Otho, elector of Brandenburg, sells his electorate to the emperor Charles IV.

OTHO of Brandenburg having refused to fulfil his engagements with the duke of Mecklenburg, according to the tenor of the late treaty, and, particularly, to deliver up the town of Marnitz, duke Albert and his brother concluded an alliance with the dukes of Pomerania, in order to compel him to stand to his agreement. The margrave was then at war with the dukes of Pomerania, who had hitherto carried it on with alternate success. But the weight of so powerful an ally, in the opposite scale, was a fatal stroke to Otho; such a stroke as deprived him, at once, of his courage and his electorate. To this event, so advantageous to Mecklenburg, many circumstances contributed. The principal of these was, that Otho had married Anne, the daughter of the emperor Charles IV. and at the marriage compact had promised, that if he should have no issue by that princess, the margraviate of Brandenburg should devolve to the crown of Bohemia. Otho repented his

his promise, and had nominated his nephew Frederick, of Bavaria, his stadtholder and successor in the margraviate of Brandenburg. This gave such offence to the emperor, that he espoused the cause of the dukes of Mecklenburg and Pomerania, and threatened to oblige him to fulfil his engagements. So formidable an alliance struck such a terror into Otho, that he sold the whole electorate of Brandenburg in 1373, to the emperor Charles IV. for two hundred thousand marks in Hungarian gold, and retired to Bavaria. Thus had duke Albert the good fortune to get rid of a very troublesome neighbour, who paid no regard to the most solemn treaties. The emperor having fairly purchased this margraviate, granted it to his son Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, and declared him elector of Brandenburg. This whole proceeding was extremely disagreeable to the house of Bavaria, particularly to Frederick, elector Palatine of the Rhine. The emperor plainly perceived he should meet with great opposition from so powerful a house, before he could secure the possession of the margraviate to his son; and being determined not to lose his money, an object for which he had too great a value, he resolved to visit the margraviate himself, and to have a conference upon the subject with the duke of Mecklenburg, in order to concert such measures with that prince, as should be necessary for maintaining his son in possession of the electorate.

who confers
it on his son
Wenceslaus.

THE new margrave Wenceslaus accompanied his father in this expedition; and as soon as the duke had entered into a treaty of guarantee and alliance, with regard to the electorate, Wenceslaus * conferred on him and his legitimate heirs male, in the emperor's presence, the investiture of Lentzen and Wittenbergen, in the district of Stepnitz; as also, the remainder of the lands and territories in the province of Prignitz, with the towns, castles, and villages thereto belonging, as Perleberg, Kiritz, Pritzwald, Fregenstein, Meyenburg, Neuhaus, and Fredericksdorff, except the town and district of Wistock, with

They both
enter into a
treaty of al-
liance with
the duke of
Mecklen-
burg.

* Prince Wenceslaus was then an infant, therefore the investiture should be attributed to Charles himself, and his son had only the name of it.

Havel-

Havelberg, and the lands belonging to that bishopric. But the misfortune was, that duke Frederick still kept possession of all those forts, and in the district of Prignitz had many adherents, men of courage and resolution, descended from the ancient Wilfi, and who, either by private or public wars, had been trained to the use of arms. However, Wenceslaus entered into an alliance with duke Albert and his sons, to assist him in taking possession of all those forts and towns; with this further condition, that the castle of Marnitz, and the other mortgaged places which the margrave Otho had taken back unredeemed, should be now restored to the house of Mecklenburg.

1373.
Duke Albert,
and his brother,
receive
a new investiture
of their
dominions.

THE same week in which this treaty of alliance was concluded, the emperor conferred, a second time, on both the dukes of Mecklenburg, the investiture of Stargard, with the whole territory thereto belonging, and promised to maintain them both in the enjoyment and possession of that principality. The renewal of this investiture was desired upon this account, that the former had been granted in 1347, when the emperor Charles's Imperial dignity was not universally acknowledged by the princes of Germany. This transaction happened on the Friday after Whitsuntide, the eighteenth of July, at Furstenberg on the Oder, as appears by the diploma. The Tuesday following, viz. the twenty-second of July, both the brothers, Albert and John, were confirmed in the ducal dignity, with which they had been invested in 1348: they now received a joint investiture of the dukedom of Mecklenburg; and the lordship of Stargard was incorporated for ever with that sovereignty. The diploma was likewise dated at Furstenberg on the Oder, the twenty-second of July, 1373. The emperor, from thence, proceeded to the New-Marck, where he encamped with his whole court before the town of Furstenwald, and was met on the fifteenth of August by Otho, the late margrave of Brandenburg, and by duke Frederick of Bavaria. Here all matters relative to the purchase of the electorate were amicably adjusted. Here also it was, that at the request of duke Albert, and his brother, the emperor renounced for him-

himself and his heirs, in favour of those princes, all rights and claims of sovereignty and jurisdiction whatever, which he might have to the territories of Prignitz, Havelberg, and Lentzen; as also, to the whole country and dominions of Mecklenburg. On the other hand, duke Albert promised for himself, and his heirs, to maintain the emperor Charles, and his heirs, in possession of the electorate of Brandenburg. This mutual guaranty was renewed in 1374, by the sons of that emperor, and of duke Albert. At the same time, the emperor confirmed for himself, and his sons, as heirs to the electorate of Brandenburg, duke Albert, and his heirs, in the dukedom of Mecklenburg, the county of Schwerin, the lordship and territory of Stargard and Rostock.

As Rostock is mentioned on this occasion, and no notice is taken of it in the patent of 1348, for erecting the country of Mecklenburg into a dukedom; it appears from thence, that the seignory, or superior jurisdiction of Denmark over that town and district, was abolished. How that revolution happened, by means of the transactions of duke Albert with king Waldemar, shall be hereafter related. But we must remark by the way, that the joint investiture of the two brothers did not constitute a joint administration. True it is, that they paid homage equally and alike for Mecklenburg and Stargard, so that those two countries were never to be alienated from the serene family; yet the two brothers had each his own portion, or separate government.

A QUARREL about this time breaking out between Albert and Wenceslaus, dukes of Saxony, and Magnus Torquatus, duke of Brunswick, proved of some advantage to duke Albert, whose assistance was courted by the weaker party. William, the last duke of Luneburg, happening to die without male issue, left two daughters, Elizabeth and Matilda. Elizabeth, the eldest, was married to Otho, duke of Saxony, of the Ascanian line, and had a son named Albert. Matilda espoused Lewis, duke of Brunswick, who died without issue, before his father-in-law, but left a brother, the famous Magnus Torqua-

Remarks on
this new in-
vestiture.

1372.
Quarrel be-
tween the
dukes of Sax-
ony and
Brunswick.

tus. William, at first, intended to leave the duchy of Luneburg to his eldest daughter Elizabeth, wife of the duke of Saxony; but altered his mind, and gave the preference to his youngest daughter Matilda, who was married to the duke of Brunswick. Upon the death of duke William, Albert, duke of Saxony, claimed the duchy of Luneburg, in right of his mother, that prince's eldest daughter; but was opposed by Magnus Torquatus, who availed himself of duke William's will, in favour of the youngest daughter. The contest growing warm, duke Albert, of Saxony, appealed to the emperor Charles IV. who preferring duke William's first disposition, declared Albert, of Saxony, lawful heir to the duchy of Luneburg. But this prince having intelligence, that Magnus Torquatus intended to assert his claim by force of arms, notwithstanding the emperor's determination, entered into an alliance with his uncle Wenceslaus, elector of Saxony, to support the joint interests of the family. Magnus, however, found himself able to make head against the two dukes of Saxony, which engaged the latter to call in to their assistance duke Albert of Mecklenburg, who was nearly related to the Ascanian family. In order to indemnify this prince, for the expences he should incur in the prosecution of the war, they gave him the towns of Domitz, Weningen, Newhaus, Darfing, and Elbstadt, for him, and his heirs, for ever; and likewise deposited the towns of Dannenberg and Blekede, as a mortgage in his hands, till they were able to repay the sums he should be obliged to expend on occasion of the present armament. The confederate forces marched into the country of Luneburg, where the inhabitants, being well affected to Albert of Saxony, submitted to that prince, who made himself master of the fortress of Lauenrode, near the city of Hanover. Magnus, however, maintained the contest for some time, with various success; but happened to be unfortunately killed soon after in a duel * with

* The manner in which this prince miserably ended his days, is related thus: Otho, count of Schaumburg, married Matilda, widow of his brother Lewis. The equipage of this princess happening to be attacked upon the road, some of Magnus's domestic

Otho, count of Schaumburg, Albert of Saxony remained peaceable possessor of the duchy of Luneburg. Albert met also with an untimely fate; for laying siege to the castle of Rickelingen, which belonged to the family of Mandelslohe, he was killed by a stone that fell upon his head. Upon that prince's decease, his uncle Wenceslaus laid claim to the duchy of Luneburg, which gave rise to an obstinate war between him and the house of Brunswick. At length, the death of this prince, which happened in 1388, while he was besieging the city of Zelle, put an end to the contest. His only issue were two daughters, Anne, married to Frederick, and Margaret to Bernard, both sons of Magnus Torquatus; by this double match all contention ceased, and the duchy of Luneburg became the undoubted right of the house of Brunswick. With regard to the agreement concluded at the beginning with duke Albert of Mecklenburg, he kept possession only of the town of Domitz, which had belonged to the counts of Schwerin, so early as the year 1326*.

BUT these disturbances in the neighbourhood of Mecklenburg, did not divert duke Albert from endeavouring to promote the interest of his family, amidst the broils with which the kingdom of Denmark was still unhappily agitated. King Waldemar upon quitting his dominions, as we have already observed†, had placed Henning Podebusch, an officer of great renown, at the head of the regency, with the title of Captain General of the kingdom. Mean while, the allies were acting with the utmost vigour against the Danes, and seemed to threaten to dis-

The troubles
of Denmark
continued.

domestic servants were charged with that outrage. This occasioned a quarrel between the two princes, which, according to the established custom of that age, was decided by the sword. Both parties having taken the field, a battle ensued near Leveste on the Leine. Magnus having engaged in single combat with his enemy, unfaddled him, and alighted from his horse, in order to take him prisoner. The count lay grovelling on the ground; and as Magnus was examining the corpse, whether there were any remains of life in it, one of the count's soldiers ran him through the body. This happened in 1373.

* Chemn. Latom. Beehr, Kluver, Franck, Leibnitz.

† P. 268.

member that ancient monarchy. The counts of Jutland had subdued several fortresses in that province, while king Albert entered Schonen with an army, and reduced Ysted, Falsterbode, Scanor, and some other places. The Hanseatic squadron had not only ravaged the maritime parts of that province and of Zealand, but also taken and plundered the town of Copenhagen. Elfinere, the key of the Sound, was fallen into their hands: they had likewise made a settlement in the isles of Amack and Ween, as also, in part of Falster, where they were possessed of Nykoping; and Falsterbode and Scanor, in Schonen, underwent the same fate. Under such distressful circumstances, the regent Podebusch plainly perceived, that a speedy accommodation was absolutely necessary for the preservation of the kingdom, and consequently should be purchased at any rate. He, therefore, proposed such terms of peace, as he knew would be agreeable to the Hanse towns, whose principal view was to secure and extend their commerce. The proposals being accepted, a congress was held at Stralsund, where, after a tedious negotiation, a peace was concluded, which reflected great dishonour upon Denmark, but was highly advantageous to the Hanseatic confederacy. Besides several privileges in favour of their commerce; to reimburse them the expences of the war, and as a satisfaction for the damages sustained at the plundering of Wisby, they obtained the cession of the better part of Schonen, during the space of fifteen years, viz. Helsingburg, Malmœ, Scanor, and Falsterbode, with their dependances, and two-thirds of the regal revenue. The particulars of this treaty, with regard to the other allies, are not known; only it is probable, that king Albert retained the isle of Gothland. Denmark being now restored to its former tranquillity, king Waldemar returned from his exile, and confirmed the treaty of Stralsund, a sacrifice which, however mortifying to his natural haughtiness, was necessary for the preservation of the remainder of his dominions*.

* Crantz. Beehr, Franck, Pontan, Huitfeld, Mallet.

UPON the restoration of this monarch, the duke of Mecklenburg thought it advisable to lay aside all animosities, and to establish a perfect reconciliation between king Waldemar and his own family. On the one hand, Waldemar was desirous of spending the remainder of his days in peace; and on the other, it was the interest of duke Albert to be upon good terms with that prince; as his grandson, by prince Henry, had a prospect of inheriting the Danish crown. In the late war, that prince had taken some fortresses in Schonen, of which he was still in possession; but now, by his father's advice, he entered into an agreement with king Waldemar, his father-in-law, by which those fortresses were all restored. In consequence of this measure, king Waldemar promised, that in case he died without issue male, his eldest daughter Ingeburga, and her son Albert, by prince Henry of Mecklenburg, should inherit the crown of Denmark: provided, however, that the king's youngest daughter, Margaret, who had been married to Haquin, king of Norway, should receive whatever was due to her in Denmark. This was a joyful and glorious æra to duke Albert; an æra, in which he not only beheld one of his sons in actual possession of the kingdom of Sweden, but likewise, his grandson declared successor to the Danish monarchy*.

Peace concluded between king Waldemar and the duke of Mecklenburg.

KING Waldemar did not long survive this event. Ever since his return to his dominions he had been afflicted with the gout; and he was so imprudent, at length, as to submit to the treatment of an empiric, who promising him infallible relief, deprived him of life. He breathed his last at his favourite castle of Gurve, in the neighbourhood of Elfinere. By his wife Hedwige, princess of Sleswick, he left two daughters behind

1375.
Death of king Waldemar,

* Upon this occasion we may say with Crantzius, "Hæc est illa veteris Vandalicæ gentis renovata gloria, quod non solum Africæ olim regnaverit; verum etiam Russis, Polonis, Bohemis, Dalmatis, Bulgaris imperet; nunc vero transmissis mari regnum suum in Sueciam perduxerit, & imperium suum usque in novissimos Rhin- nos prolataverit." Crantzius, Chemnitz, Latomus, Franck, Beehr, Mallet.

and disputes
about the
succession.

him; the eldest, Ingeburga, married to prince Henry of Mecklenburg, duke Albert's eldest son; and the youngest, the celebrated Margaret, who espoused Haquin, king of Norway. Had the right of succession been at that time regularly established in Denmark, the young prince of Mecklenburg must have ascended the throne without opposition. The states of Denmark, however, were of opinion, that all the duty they owed to the reigning family, was to prefer it to any other; but that the right of primogeniture ought not, in many occurrences, to prevail over the welfare and interest of the kingdom. The states having assembled at Odensee, to deliberate on the election, were divided in their sentiments. Some were disposed to favour prince Albert, on account of the title which he derived from his mother, eldest daughter to their late sovereign. Others declared themselves for Olaus, son of Margaret, who was then eleven years old; specifying many advantages with which the election of this young prince would be attended, in preference to that of his competitor. As presumptive heir to the king of Norway, he must, of consequence, unite that crown to Denmark; and by his pretensions to Sweden, he had a probable chance of one day reducing all Scandinavia under his dominion. The intrigues of queen Margaret gave great vigour to this party; yet debates ran so high, that the states separated without coming to any resolution. This was agreeable to Margaret, to whom gaining time was a considerable advantage.

As this is the first time that this celebrated princess makes her appearance in our historical drama, and we shall have frequent occasion to mention her political and military exploits, a short sketch of her character will not, perhaps, be unacceptable to the reader. This notice she deserves, on account of those shining qualities, and illustrious actions, which procured her the surname of the Semiramis of the North. If she cannot be compared to the eastern heroine, for the circumstance of assuming the habit of the other sex, and counterfeiting manhood, she was, at least, equal to her in all manly virtues; and

we

we may, with truth, apply to her, what an ingenious writer * makes Henry the Great say of queen Elizabeth, "That Europe did her the justice to rank her with the greatest men." It was indeed said of her by the king her father himself, "That nature had erred in making her a woman, since she was originally intended for a man." And this judgment, the early instances which she gave of her great penetration, and uncommon intellectual abilities, fully justified. We should not be surprized if her character was not suited to her sex, since her birth was owing to a mistake †; and the consequence seems natural, that the fruit of such an embrace should be an extraordinary production. She was a woman of a most active and lively disposition, of an aspiring mind, and of unbounded ambition; affable and condescending while she courted the supreme power; haughty and imperious when once she had obtained it. She possessed, in perfection, the art of conciliating the affections of those with whom she had any business to transact. Her capacity was such, as enabled her to form and conduct the most arduous enterprizes. She had the true spirit of intrigue; a spirit which seemed to form her characteristic, and constitute her ruling passion. The management of the present election of a successor to her father, was the first exertion of her political abilities; and upon that occasion, she acted with a fortitude and sagacity which could scarce be expected from her inexperience, and the weakness of her sex.

THIS artful princess having had time to set all her engines at work, began to tamper with the states of each province; and so successful was she in her intrigues, that she made them separately agree to an election, on which they could not resolve in a collective body. Jutland set the example; the three orders of that province, chose Olaus with one common consent. Schonon imitated the conduct of Jutland; and, at length, the inhabitants of the Danish istands joined their suffrages to those of the rest of the kingdom. Olaus, son of Haquin, king of Norway, and of queen Margaret, though but eleven years of age, was pro-

Olaus, the son of Margaret, chosen king of Denmark.

* M. de Voltaire.

† See pag. 230.

claimed

May 13,
1376.

He is opposed, in vain, by the duke of Mecklenburg.

claimed king at Slagelse, in the presence of his father * and mother, at a general assembly of the states of the kingdom. Margaret, on the same occasion, was declared regent during the minority of her son; and the acts which from that time came from the throne, were published in both their names. One of the chief artifices by which Margaret obtained this election, was her agreeing to sign, in behalf of her son, a capitulation which would afterwards have tied up his hands, as far, at least, as coronation oaths are capable of binding princes.

BEFORE the death of king Waldemar, the duchy of Mecklenburg enjoyed a profound peace: Albert had lately the good fortune to get rid of two of his most troublesome neighbours, Magnus duke of Brunswick, and Otho of Brandenburg; the former of whom had been killed in a duel, and the latter had sold his electorate. He was likewise in close alliance with the emperor, who had not only granted many privileges to his family, but also promised to support king Albert on the throne of Sweden, and the young prince Albert of Mecklenburg, in his pretensions to the Danish succession. No sooner, therefore, had the duke received the news of king Waldemar's death, than he made his grandson take the title of lawful heir to the crown of Denmark; and being resolved to maintain his right, had already procured letters of recommendation from the emperor Charles IV. to the states of the kingdom. Besides the right of primogeniture in favour of his grandson, he also alledged the above-mentioned treaty between his son Henry, and the late king Waldemar.

By these steps Margaret was sufficiently convinced, that the election of Olaus would be strongly opposed by the duke of Mecklenburg, and that it would be necessary to concert proper measures of defence, in order to support her son on the throne. With this view she endeavoured, at first, to establish an alliance

* The ingenious Mr. Vertot, in *Revol. de Suede*, is greatly mistaken in supposing king Haquin to have been dead at the time of this election; his death did not happen till 1380. He also supposes Olaus to have died the same year as king Waldemar, and that Margaret was queen of Norway in her own right; none of which particulars are true.

with

with the dukes of Pomerania, neighbours and rivals of duke Albert. Such was the purport of the treaty concluded by that princess with duke Bogislaus, of the branch of Wolgast, who, in virtue thereof, undertook to support the new king of Denmark with all his power and might, against every opponent, and especially against the duke of Mecklenburg.

THE event quickly evinced the wisdom of the queen's precautions. Duke Albert being determined to maintain the rights of his grandson, persuaded his son Albert, king of Sweden, to join his forces with those of Mecklenburg, in defence of a cause, by which the glory of their family was so much affected. The counts of Holstein, Nicholas and Adolphus, were also prevailed upon to join this party, having been promised, that when the young prince of Mecklenburg ascended the throne, he should favour them with the long wished-for investiture of the duchy of Sleswick, as also, of the islands of Alsen and Langeland. Promises so advantageous had a very powerful effect, and by those means the counts of Holstein were easily drawn into the alliance. Prince Henry of Mecklenburg having taken upon him the command of the confederate fleet, put to sea with an intent to land a strong body of troops on the coast of Denmark. But the fleet met with a violent storm, by which great part of the ships were lost and dispersed, and numbers of the men perished in the deep. Prince Henry having returned to the coast of Mecklenburg with the shattered remains of the fleet, was discouraged from renewing the expedition, but had recourse to negotiation. Hereupon conferences were held, and it was agreed on both sides, to refer the decision of this important matter to a certain number of arbitrators. Whether this arbitration took place we are not informed, but in all probability it did: and there is some room to believe, that on this occasion, the house of Mecklenburg was released from all feudal subjection on account of the lordship of Rostock. Margaret, and her son, remained in peaceable possession of the crown of Denmark; yet prince Albert continued to quarter the Danish
arms

arms with those of Mecklenburg, using this inscription, “*Sigillum Alberti Daniae hæredis, Ducis Magnopolensis.*”

Public calamities.

1376.

THIS disappointment was followed by some other disasters, with which the good fortune of the house of Mecklenburg was suddenly clouded and overcast. In Wismar a terrible pestilence broke out, which in half a year, that is, from the twenty-ninth of June till Christmas, swept away ten thousand souls; and above a hundred and twenty were frequently interred in a day. Hence it appears, how populous that city must have been in those days; but so greatly was it reduced by this fatal scourge, that it never after recovered its former grandeur. To complete the misfortune of this city, a fire broke out this same year in the street of Mecklenburg, which laid one quarter of the town in ashes.

1377.
Death of
John, duke
of Stargard.

THE ensuing year, April the eighth, died duke Albert's brother John, duke of Mecklenburg-Stargard, after a reign of five-and-twenty years. He was interred with the usual solemnities at Strelitz. He had been twice married, first, to the sister of Adolphus VII. count of Holstein, name unknown, by whom he had an only daughter, Anna, married to Wratislaus V. duke of Pomerania, and who died in 1396: secondly, to Agnes, daughter of Ulric, count of Ruppín and Lindow, by whom he had four sons, John, Ulric, Rudolphus, and Albert; and three daughters, Agnes, Euphemia, and Constantia. The princes, John and Ulric, succeeded their father in the government; and of their actions we shall hereafter treat more particularly. Rudolphus was made bishop of Schwerin, and afterwards obtained the bishopric of Scara in Sweden. Albert, the youngest, was bishop of Dorpt in Livonia, where he ended his days. Of the daughters, Agnes was married to Otho II. duke of Pomerania. Euphemia, according to Chemnitz, entered the monastery of Ribnitz in 1376, when only four years of age; and in 1398 was chosen Vicaria (or Superior) of that house. Constantia was born in 1373, and likewise was placed in the convent of Ribnitz, when only three years old*.

* Chemnitz, Latom. Beehr, Franck, Pontan, Mallet.

THIS melancholy event was followed soon after by the loss of a great friend to the house of Mecklenburg, I mean the emperor Charles IV. This prince had undertaken a journey to France, in order to fulfil a vow he had made of visiting the abbey of St. Maur, in the neighbourhood of Paris. Upon his return to Bohemia, he died the twenty-ninth of November, this same year, at Prague, and was succeeded in the Imperial dignity by his son Wenceslaus. It was Charles IV. that built the castle of Carlstein in Bohemia, in order to preserve the regalia of the empire, contrary to the promise given to the electors. His view, in all probability, was to avail himself of the superstition of the age, when very great stress was laid, in Imperial elections, on the person possessed of those ornaments. So fully was he persuaded, that he should thereby succeed in perpetuating the Imperial crown in his family, that he caused the arms of Bohemia to be engraved on the hilt of Charlemagne's sword, which afterwards gave rise to several suspicions and doubts with regard to its antiquity*.

1378.
Death of the
emperor
Charles IV.

DUKE Albert's health had been some time upon the decline, which induced him to retire, as much as possible, from public business, and to prepare for his latter end. His mild and prudent administration had endeared him greatly to his subjects, who looked upon him as their father, and whose interest he had studied to promote upon all occasions. But the city of Rostock was in a particular manner favoured by this prince, having received from him a confirmation of all her privileges in 1348 and 1349. He likewise conferred on her the privilege of having a mint of her own, together with the right of civil and criminal jurisdiction in the last resort. Formerly there lay an appeal from the senate of Rostock to the city of Lubeck, which was expressly abrogated by the present privilege. But, in regard to matters of commerce, there might have been an exception even at this time, since Rostock, as a Hanse town, depended, in some measure, on the direction of Lubeck. This appeal did not import any subjection to that city; it

1379.
Last illness
of duke Al-
bert.

* Heisse, Barre, Pfeffel.

consisted only of an inquiry into the laws of Lubeck, which had been formerly granted to the inhabitants of Rostock, and were afterwards observed in their judicial proceedings. It is true, however, that the city of Lubeck formed some claim on account of that very appeal, and pretended to the right of determining in the last resort.

DUKE Albert, sensible of his approaching dissolution, sent for his two sons, Henry and Magnus, (Albert the second was then king of Sweden) and the awful prospect of death suggesting the best and most serious thoughts for the direction of their future conduct, he expressed his sentiments to them in terms to this effect: “ My sons, listen to the words of a dying father, who must
 “ now be more capable than ever of giving you salutary advice.
 “ It is in our last moments that we see things in their truest light,
 “ as our eyes are then opened, and all those delusions of opinion,
 “ and those false ideas of human grandeur, which dazzled and
 “ misled us during life, dissolve like smoke, or vanish like an
 “ empty dream. You have seen, my children, what toils and
 “ perils I have undergone, during a long succession of years,
 “ and how many obstinate contests and bloody wars I have been
 “ engaged in, to establish you in your ancient patrimony, and
 “ to procure you a perfect security from all the neighbouring
 “ potentates. I do not mention this with a view of upbraid-
 “ ing you with my favours, as is but too often the case with
 “ benefactors; so far from it, there is nothing I regret more
 “ in my last moments, than that I have not more opulent and
 “ extensive dominions to leave my sons. I mean only to ex-
 “ hort you, now that my glass is run out, and I am upon the
 “ point of launching into eternity, to preserve with care that
 “ which I have been at so much pains in acquiring. What
 “ I would still more earnestly recommend is, that you would
 “ cultivate a strict union between yourselves, and be ever mind-
 “ ful of this just maxim, that by concord the most inconsider-
 “ able states grow powerful, and by discord the greatest and
 “ mightiest states are reduced to nothing. I must, at the same
 “ time,

“ time, with equal seriousness, advise you to observe the
 “ strictest integrity, and the most impartial justice in your
 “ dealings, with all whom you are any way concerned;
 “ for princes are set up as a pattern to the rest of mankind;
 “ and the smallest violation of the laws of justice in them, com-
 “ municates the contagion of bad example to their subjects.
 “ Let integrity be your chief rampart; let justice be your
 “ strongest bulwark. Exert your utmost endeavours to pre-
 “ serve the security of the public roads from the incursions of
 “ banditti and robbers. Cultivate a good understanding with
 “ the neighbouring Hanse towns; nothing can contribute
 “ more to render the commerce of your dominions flourishing
 “ and extensive. Behave with mildness and lenity to all your
 “ subjects, which they will not fail to return by paying you a
 “ cheerful submission and obedience. But keep it constantly
 “ in remembrance, that you will be always sure of triumphing
 “ over your enemies, if you can subdue the emotions of avarice,
 “ ambition, pride, and those inordinate desires that often en-
 “ slave the most arbitrary monarchs. The power of that
 “ prince, which extends only to those below him, is always
 “ limited; he is truly a sovereign who has learnt to command
 “ his passions, and subdue himself.”

SOON after this exhortation to his sons, duke Albert breathed his last, on the nineteenth of February 1379, in his sixtieth year, and was interred at Dobberan, where his monument* is still extant. His death.

THUS ended his days, Albert, the first duke of this illustrious family; one of the greatest princes that ever figured in the annals of Mecklenburg. To compose his panegyric, it is sufficient to take a view of his actions, and the whole tenor of his conduct in life. His figure was graceful and majestic; his

* The epitaph is as follows: “ Duke Albert, a just prince, departed this life in
 “ 1379. He governed Schwerin, Rostock, and Stargard, and was a great bene-
 “ factor to this monastery. By his death the public has lost a Maccabeus, who had
 “ the qualities of the eagle and the lion, the strength of Sampson, and the elegant
 “ form of Paris. He died in his sixtieth year.”

countenance handsome, his eyes bright and penetrating, his deportment engaging. He had been trained to the exercise of arms, and the feats of chivalry, from his tenderest age, which gave him great agility, and inured him to hardship and fatigue. So robust was his constitution, that he would, probably, have lived to a much more advanced age, had he not espoused his second consort in the decline of life; a circumstance which, likewise, hastened the death of his father. He possessed every accomplishment of body and mind, that became his high station. Nor was he inferior in the solid and essential qualities of a commander. His prudence and caution in forming enterprises, and concerting measures, were equal to his intrepid boldness in execution. He was never to be daunted by the power or multitude of his enemies, having a resistless bulwark in the affection of his people. He was a constant patron and friend to the Hanse towns, from which he always received marks of esteem and affection. His conduct in the field was equal to his valour, and ever free from the imputation of temerity. Such was his vigilance and circumspectness, that in all his various expeditions he never once suffered himself to be surprized. Fortune could claim no share in his successes; they were all owing to his personal merit. No prince ever contributed more to the exaltation of his family. The recovery of the county of Schwerin, the acquisition of the several districts in Denmark and Brandenburg, the independency and preservation of Stargard, are all standing monuments of his constant attention to this main object. But the raising of his son Albert to the throne of Sweden, was his master-piece in politics, by which he, at once, displayed his wisdom in the cabinet, and his valour and conduct in the field. The power of Brandenburg reduced, the Pomeranians quelled, the Danes humbled, the emperor supported, set him upon a level with the greatest captains of ancient or modern ages. Whilst the duke, as a hero, seems to vie with the most illustrious personages of antiquity, his affability, generosity, and love of justice, shew him to have possessed the virtues of humanity in an eminent degree.

Tully

Tully has mentioned prosperity amongst the circumstances that exalt the character of heroes ; in this respect, duke Albert was surpassed by few ; he miscarried in but two of his undertakings ; he was once defeated in battle, and missed his aim against the principality of Rugen. Magnificent in the support of his dignity, he was an œconomist in his private expences, to avoid burthening the people, whose interest he had always in view, and who revered him as their common father. His devotion was free from bigotry ; and such was the superiority of his understanding, that he was scarce at all tinctured with the superstition of the times. In a word, he had all the good qualities that can endear a prince to his subjects ; and the memory of his heroic virtues, and glorious exploits, will be handed down to the latest posterity.

THIS prince was the first who assumed the following title, which the serene family still retains : “ Albertus Dei Gratia “ Dux Megapolensis, Princeps Vandalorum, Comes Suerinensis, Rostochii & Stargardiæ Dominus.” His motto was, “ Noli me tangere.” He was twice married, first, to princess Euphemia of Sweden, by whom he had three sons and two daughters. The sons were Henry, Albert, and Magnus : the two former have been often mentioned in the foregoing pages : of the latter, who is the stem of the present ducal family, we shall take notice hereafter. His eldest daughter, Anna, was married to Adolphus, count of Holstein. The youngest daughter, Ingeburga, had for her husband, Lewis, margrave of Brandenburg. His second wife was Adelaid, daughter of Ulric, count of Hahnstein, by whom he had no issue*.

* Crantzius, Chemnitz, Latomus, Beehr, Kluver, Buckholtz, Franck.

CHAP. VI.

A L B E R T, King of SWEDEN,
H E N R Y S U S P E N S O R, and
M A G N U S I.

D U K E S of M E C K L E N B U R G.

From 1379 to 1384.

E M P E R O R of G E R M A N Y,
W E N C E S L A U S, - - - - 1378.

K I N G of E N G L A N D,
R I C H A R D II. - - - - 1377.

Henry Suspensor succeeds to the government, together with his brothers. His great regard to justice. His death and issue. Death of duke Magnus I. and issue. The administration devolves intirely upon Albert, king of Sweden. War with the banditti. King Albert holds a tournament at Wismar. Inquiry into the nature and origin of that entertainment.

THE splendor of the house of Mecklenburg seemed to be eclipsed by the death of the fortunate and magnanimous hero, duke Albert. That prince's sons, at least Henry and Magnus, were of a less active and aspiring disposition, and destitute of those shining qualities, by which their father had gained the summit of renown. Had the same ardour and courage warmed and animated their breasts, such was the juncture of public affairs, that the north of Europe must have quickly submitted to their empire. Albert, their brother, was already possessed of the Swedish throne, and Henry's son had well grounded pretensions to the crown of Denmark, from which he, however, was excluded by the artful management of a female rival. Even king Albert could not maintain himself on the throne of Sweden, but was divested of his exalted station

tion by the very same woman, who proved the most inveterate enemy to his illustrious family. *Dux fœmina facti.*

DUKE Albert having quitted this sublunary world, his two sons, Henry, surnamed Suspensor, and Magnus I. immediately apprized their brother, the king of Sweden, of the melancholy event. We do not find what agreement those princes entered into, with regard to the partition of their inheritance: all that appears from the public records of those times is, that the three brothers acted by a conjunct administration, as did also their cousins, the dukes of Mecklenburg-Stargard, John and Ulric, sons of the late duke John. For, by the custom of that age, the elder brothers in German principalities, did not exclude the rest from their share in the administration.

DUKE Henry, the elder brother, seems to have born the principal part in government, and was a strict friend to justice. The outrages of the banditti, which were revived at this time, called for the utmost efforts of his courage and vigilance. These disturbers of the public peace were very numerous in the district of Prignitz, where the nobility, sprung from the ancient Wilfi, still preserved their fastnesses and moated castles, and conformed to the Venedic customs in their manner of living: the nobility in the county of Schwerin also continued the same courses, to which they had been used under the late counts, harbouring those miscreants who infested the neighbouring country. The encouraging of the perpetrators of such violences, reflects a great dishonour on the German nobility, who seem to have even partaken of the spoils, and thus to have joined in plundering and oppressing the innocent. In conformity to his father's advice, duke Henry exerted himself in stemming the torrent of those violences, and bringing those profligates, whenever they happened to fall into his hands, to condign punishment. - Knowing that lenity to hardened delinquents, is cruelty to the honest subject, he acted against the former with the utmost severity, in hopes of exterminating so pernicious a race, and restoring the freedom of commerce. His zeal, on this occasion, was so great, that he went himself
in

1380.
His regard
to justice.

in pursuit of those common enemies of mankind; he would even get out of his bed in the dead of night, upon any intelligence of their approach, and chase them into their lurking-places in the woods and morasses, where they thought themselves in perfect security. For this purpose, he had always a quantity of cord packed up by some of his retinue; and whenever he could seize upon any free-booter, whatever gang he belonged to, whether he was a gentleman, or a peasant, he ordered him immediately to be hanged upon the first tree they came to, giving him no more time to prepare for death, than just to say the Lord's Prayer: should they chance to beg for permission to confess their sins to a priest, his answer was, they might confess them to God; and that it was much better for them to have even this short time of repentance, than to be taken off in the act of violating the laws of justice and humanity. He used even to drag them out of the churches, to which they sometimes fled as places of refuge; and when the clergy complained of the violation of the sanctuary, he silenced them by observing, that God's house should not be made a den of thieves. This strict administration gained him the surname of Suspensor, or the Executioner; by which his enemies, wicked men, and oppressors, meant to cast an odium upon his character; though, in the opinion of the virtuous and sensible part of mankind, it reflects the highest honour on his memory.

1381.

THIS year was rendered remarkable by an event of a most tragic nature, in the person of Melchior, bishop of Schwerin, of the illustrious house of Brunswick, who had been translated to that see from the bishopric of Osnabrug. This good prelate having made an excursion to Rostock, in the middle of summer, and being overcome with the heat of the weather, drank plentifully of mead, which was his favourite liquor. A man's servants and domestics, like his passions and appetites, are oftentimes his secret enemies. A servant of Melchior's, who bore him an inveterate resentment, the reason of which we find nowhere mentioned, availed himself of this opportunity, to mix a potent poison in the pleasant, but fatal beverage. The effect was

was instantaneous; the prelate was taken suddenly ill, and ignorant of the cause of his disorder, made haste to get back to Butzow, the episcopal residence. Upon entering the town, he saw strawberries exposed to sale on a stall, and was tempted to eat of them, in expectation of allaying the violent heat by which his intestines were burnt up. But the virulent poison still continuing to operate, his belly swelled to an immoderate size, and his bowels bursting with a sudden explosion, he expired in the most exquisite agonies. The dignity of history will not permit us to enter into disquisitions on uninteresting events; we shall only observe by the way, that suspicions of poison were very common in that ignorant age; and as it does not appear that the servant was ever convicted, or punished for the crime, it is more natural to suppose, that the good prelate died of a surfeit, from the heterogeneous mixture of mead and strawberries, than from any poisonous ingredient. Be that as it will; he was interred at Butzow with this epitaph:

“ Anno 1381. Die Veneris, vel postridie S. Bonifacii, re-
 “ rendus in Christo Pater, Dominus Melchior, Dux Brunsvi-
 “ censis, & Episcopus Suerinensis, mortuus, et hic sepultus est.
 “ Orate pro eo.”

DUKE Henry was most usefully employed in securing the peace and commerce of his country, when death also snatch-
 ed him away, to the great grief and concern of his subjects, especially those of the lower class, to whom he had always be-
 haved with condescension and affability. The occasion of his death is said to have been a fall from his horse upon the ice at Wismar, where he, this year, held a tournament, in the depth of winter. He died soon after this fatal accident, and was interred at Dobberan*, in the same grave with his father.

1383.
His death
and issue.

* The following curious epitaph, in monkish verses, containing a short account of his life and transactions, is to be seen on his monument at Dobberan.

“ Nobilis Henricus Magnopol. pacis amicus,
 “ Defuncto patre jam, cum magno duce fratre,
 “ Cæpit regnare per regnum strenue, gnare,
 “ Forte scholis didicit male doctos quomodo vicit.

DUKE Henry was twice married, first, in 1350, to Ingeburga, daughter of Waldemar III. king of Denmark. By this princess he had an only son, named Albert, who, in 1378, espoused the princess Elizabeth, daughter of Albert, duke of Saxe-Lawenburg, and died without issue, of a pestilential disease, four years after his father. Of this prince Albert's expectation of acceding to the crown of Denmark, in right of his mother, and of his asserting that right upon the death of king Waldemar III. enough has been already said *. He bore the title of king of Denmark during his natural life, and his untimely death prevented his taking any further steps for mount-

- " Pax et justitia fuit ejus philosophia,
- " Perquam purgata stetit ejus publica strata.
- " Tute mercator ivit quivisque viator.
- " Tectos sub larvis nequam, sylvis vel in arvis,
- " Noctibus errantes, fractis domibusque, locantes
- " Sub doliis gentes & earum res rapientes,
- " Investigavit, suspendit vel gladiavit ;
- " His nunquam vere pacem permisit habere ;
- " Non obdormivit, ablativos ubi scivit ;
- " Ecclesiae postes subit, et lucis capit hostes.
- " Noluit ad regimen patriae permittere crimen.
- " Intulit ipse tamen claustris quandoque gravamen.
- " Noscitur expresse, quod erat sibi saepe necesse.
- " Hic graviter cecidit, sicut gens plurima vidit,
- " In torneamentis, sub equi mole prementis.
- " Ducitur ad lectum, quem vidit plebs ibi tectum.
- " Cernitur urina, nil juvit eum medicina.
- " Flet populus, moritur, juxta patrem sepelitur.
- " De quo gaudebat mala gens ; sed justa dolebat.
- " Sicut viventes, sic nunc socii morientes ;
- " Quorum majestas nihil est modo, sive potestas ;
- " Linqvit eos rerum substantia, pompa dierum,
- " In tumbis vermes lacerant nudos & inermes.
- " Sed quæ gesserunt, hic secum nulla tulerunt.
- " Esto Deus lenis, pie judex, his sine poenis ;
- " Duc et eos pone simul in vitae regione ;
- " Nate, pater, flamen facer, hoc fac, poscimus. Amen.

An. Dom. M.CCCC. †.

† Latom. Chron.

* See c. V. p. 287.

ing that throne. However, the posterity of his mother Ingeburga, at length, were called to the Danish crown, in the issue of his sister Mary.

FOR duke Henry had also by his wife Ingeburga, three daughters, 1. Mary, married to Wratislaus VII. duke of Pomerania, by whom she had a son, named Eric, whom Margaret Waldemar, upon the death of her son Olaus, appointed her successor and co-regent of the three kingdoms of the north. This prince Eric succeeded to that united monarchy. He had a sister, named Sophia, married to John, elector Palatine of the Rhine, by whom she had a son, named Christopher, who was also king of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway. The second daughter Euphemia, was betrothed in 1366, to John VI. prince of Werle and Goldberg, but being still too young, and he dying before the nuptials, she was married in 1377, to prince John VII. of Werle and Waren. The third daughter, Ingeburga, was elected abbess of Ribnitz in 1398, and died of the plague in 1408, in her fortieth year.

HENRY'S second wife, whom he married in 1377, was Matilda, daughter of prince Bernard III. of Werle and Robel. But by this princess he left no issue*.

THE death of Henry was followed the next year by that of his brother, duke Magnus. This prince, perceiving his health to decline, thought of restoring it by a journey to Spa, in order to drink the mineral waters. He set out in company with Albert, duke of Brunswick-Luneburg; but upon his arrival at Aix-la-Chapelle, he was seized with a burning fever, which put an end to his life the thirty-first of August, in the sixth year of his regency. He is represented by some authors as of a choleric, passionate disposition; but others ascribe to him a more amiable character, acknowledging, at the same time, that he had great vivacity of temper, and would not put up with the least appearance of an affront. His endeavouring to restrain the nobility within proper bounds, and to abridge their extravagant privileges, by which they encou-

1384.
Death of
duke Mag-
nus.

* Crantz. Latom. Chemn. John Magnus, Mylius, Beehr, Buckholtz, Franck.

raged the banditti, rendered him obnoxious to that order, as if he paid no regard to their established rights *. Perhaps he did not attend to those claims, which they dignified by this appellation; but surely he respected those more sacred rights, the safety and preservation of his people. Besides, the nobility of those days, enjoying an almost boundless freedom under a feudal government, were continually endeavouring to contract the power and prerogative of the prince, whom they looked upon only as *primus inter pares*; no wonder then if the prince made it his study to humble their pride, and to restrain their extravagant licentiousness. During his administration the people enjoyed profound peace, and nothing memorable was transacted: some may impute this to his indolence, but others more justly consider it as an argument of his prudence, and constant attention to promote the real happiness of his people. Be that as it will, as he was the youngest son of duke Albert, his merit and fame seem to have been eclipsed by those of his elder brothers. But he has the honour of being the stem from whence the present princes of Mecklenburg Schwerin and Strelitz, are sprung. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Barnim IV. duke of Pomerania, of the branch of Wolgast, by whom he had a son, named John VII. who alone continued this illustrious family. He had also two daughters, Euphemia and Hedwig; the former married to Balthasar, prince of Werle and Gustrow, the latter to Otho II. duke of Stettin †.

The government intirely devolves to Albert, king of Sweden.

By the death of these two brothers, the government of Mecklenburg fell intirely into the hands of Albert, king of Sweden, upon whom the guardianship of the two young princes, his nephews, Albert and John, naturally devolved. Some assert, with great appearance of probability, that this guardianship extended only to John; but that Albert, the son of duke Henry, was then capable of holding the reins of government; and accordingly, that he administered that duchy jointly with his uncle, king Albert.

* Corner says of him, "*Honestatem non curans militarem.*"

† Crantzius, Chemnitz, Beehr, Franck.

ONE of the first transactions under this regency, was an application from the city of Lubeck to duke Albert, to unite his forces with theirs in the further pursuit and extirpation of the banditti, who, since his father's decease, began once more to raise their heads. The proposal was readily embraced; and the cities of Rostock and Wismar having joined in so laudable a design, most of those miscreants were hunted out of their lurking holes, and the castles belonging to their protectors destroyed. Among these were Storzow, Gemetow, Prensborg, Trutzen, Reden, which were levelled to the ground. But though the castles were demolished, the pernicious practice could not be extirpated, having taken too deep a root amongst the nobility, who countenanced it; and we shall soon see it revive with greater fury than ever*.

1385.
War against
the banditti.

THE ensuing year Albert, king of Sweden, desirous of seeing his native country, embarked for Wismar, whither he had invited most of the neighbouring princes, to assist at a tournament. The decorations on this occasion were extremely splendid, and the entertainment continued the space of eight days, with the utmost festivity. The presence of a monarch, who had been so long absent from his native soil, had attracted an infinite number of spectators, not only from Mecklenburg and the adjacent provinces, but likewise from the most distant parts of Germany. Among the illustrious personages who assisted at that pompous entertainment, were Wenceslaus, duke of Saxony and Luneburg; Bogislaus, duke of Wolgast; Eric, duke of Saxe-Lawenburg; John, duke of Stargard; Lawrence, prince of Werle; Nicholas and Adolphus, counts of Holstein; Otho, count of Hoje; Gunther, count of Ruppin; besides several other dukes, marquisses, and counts, whom it would be tedious to enumerate. There was also a most brilliant circle of ladies of the first rank, with the deputies of the neighbouring Hanse towns. They all vied with each other in magnificence and expence, displaying the richness of their equipages, the sumptuousness of their apparel, and the beauty and agility of

1386.
King Albert
holds a tour-
nament at
Wismar.

* Crantzius, Buckholtz, Franck, Chemnitz, Latomus.

their

their horses. Interludes and masquerades were also exhibited, and nothing was wanting that could captivate the senses, and afford the most exquisite pleasures to so noble and polite an assembly.

As we have had frequent occasion to make mention of tournaments in the course of this history, and this was one of the most splendid ever exhibited in Germany, the reader will not, perhaps, be displeased with an account of the nature and origin of those pompous entertainments.

TOURNAMENTS were combats of honour, in which persons of noble birth entered the lists, to gain reputation in feats of arms. The name is derived from *turner*, to turn, because they rode round the inclosure in performing these exercises, and wheeled about in the course of the engagement. The origin of them has been much controverted. Nithard relates, that at an interview between Charles the Bald, and his brother Lewis, king of Germany, at Strasburg, there were combats, or mock fights, between several cavaliers belonging to the retinue of these princes, where they vied with each other, in giving the most signal proofs of their courage and address. The emperor Henry the Fowler introduced exercises of the same nature among his troops, in order to train them to strictness of discipline. But these were no more than military evolutions, such as obtained among the Romans, and even among the Greeks, by whom they were called Trojan Games. It is therefore most probable, that the recreation of tournaments was introduced in the eleventh century, together with chivalry; and the invention is, with good grounds, attributed to a French nobleman, Geoffrey, lord of Preuille, who, at least, digested the rules, or laws, to be observed in those combats. Hence they were called *Ludi Gallici*, from the country of the inventor. This noble amusement was soon adopted by other nations, by the English*, the Germans, and the Spaniards, and even by the inhabitants of the East.

* They did not begin to be in vogue in England till the reign of Richard I. in 1194.

THE design of tournaments was to train the nobility to the use of arms. None, therefore, were admitted to these sports, but persons of noble birth, and who could prove their descent, at least, by three generations. They were also required to be men of unspotted honour and integrity. Those who had degraded themselves by marrying beneath their rank, or who had presumed to slander the fair sex, were consequently excluded. Thus it became the favourite diversion of the noble, who rose in esteem with the public, and especially with the ladies, in proportion as they distinguished themselves by their dexterity and address at this manly exercise. Young gentlemen looked upon it as a military school, those of riper years as a theatre for displaying their activity and courage, and gallants as an opportunity of gaining the affection and esteem of their mistresses.

THE ladies had generally the honour of assisting, and sometimes of presiding at these martial entertainments. They put an end to the rencounter whenever they thought proper. It was they that distributed the prizes; it was they that inspired the combatants with ardour and courage, by giving them, before the encounter began, some token or favour, that is, a scarf, a veil, a coif, a bracelet, &c. with which the knight adorned his lance, his shield, or his coat of armour. If, in the heat of the engagement, the knight was deprived of this ensign, the lady would send him another, and even strip herself of her most precious ornaments, in order to animate him to combat.

IT was customary for princes, on some public festivity or rejoicing, to appoint a day for those entertainments, and to give notice thereof, by a special messenger, to the knights in their own territories, as well as in the neighbouring states. The knights generally made their appearance four days before the combat. They endeavoured to excel each other in the richness of their equipages, in the elegance of their dress, and in the excellence and beauty of their horses, which were adorned with the most costly caparisons. Their armorial
ensigns

ensigns * were displayed with great pomp for several days, to be examined and inspected by the lords and ladies. This was to prevent unqualified persons from entering the lists. Their arms were what the French call courtoises, spears without any iron at the top, swords without edge or point, wooden swords or faulchions, or even plain canes. They were not even permitted to push with those blunted weapons against the stomach, but only to strike with their uplifted arm. Neither were they allowed to fight out of their ranks, nor to hurt their adversary's horse, nor to couch their lances against any other part but the face, or the plastron; nor to strike a knight after he had taken off his vizor, or been unfaddled; nor to fall in a body upon a single person. Whoever transgressed these rules, incurred censure and public ignominy, the most severe punishment that could be inflicted on a gentleman.

THE signal of engagement was given by the sound of trumpet, after two damsels of quality, attended by the heralds, had sung some verses adapted to the occasion. Judges, or inspectors, were appointed by the sovereign, to examine the knights armour, their spears, swords, helmets, and bucklers, and to see that they were all armed alike. These judges wore a white rod, as a badge of their authority. It is they that fixed the day, the place, and the arms. There were also present, camp-marshal, counsellors, kings, heralds, and pursuivants at arms, to make a faithful report of the behaviour of the combatants. The

* Armorial ensigns derive their origin from the crusades, and consequently are pretty nearly of the same antiquity as tournaments. In such numerous armies as engaged in those expeditions to the Holy-land, and consisted of twenty or thirty different nations, they were obliged to have some ensign or mark, in order to marshal the vassals under the banner of their respective lord. This was the cause of their having recourse to symbols, to distinguish them in combat, which they afterwards retained out of vanity, and ingraven or painted on their shield, or coat of armour. These they displayed at tournaments, as a proof of their having had the honour to serve in a crusade. The fashion soon became general; even those who had not been in the Holy-land, would have some emblematic distinction; and, at length, in the thirteenth century, coats of arms became an hereditary honour, and were appropriated to families.

place, or field, in which they engaged, was railed in with pales, and distinguished by the name of list. Round this were scaffolds, erected in the form of towers, and divided into boxes and galleries, richly ornamented, for the accommodation of the spectators. Kings, queens, and their whole court often assisted at these spectacles.

WHEN the quadrils, or troops, were drawn up, the judges rode through their ranks, to see that none of the knights was fastened to his saddle, a practice reckoned extremely base, and unworthy of a cavalier. Then the combatants paid their respects to the sovereign, and to the ladies; and the charge was founded. During the engagement, the clashing of swords and faulchions, made a most horrid noise. The points of their spears lighting upon each other's armour, gave a violent shock, and generally flew in pieces. When the combatants were brave and determined, the contest sometimes lasted the greater part of the day. The vanquished withdrew from the list, without the least noise, to the nearest place of retirement. Sometimes this entertainment was followed by jousts: two cavaliers, out of gallantry, would break a lance in honour of the ladies. The difference between tournaments and jousts was, that the former were in the nature of battles, and the latter of duels.

As soon as the tournaments were over, the business was to make a fair distribution of the prizes. The judges collected the votes, after hearing the report of the heralds at arms; upon which the sovereign, the ancient knights, and the judges, declared the name of the conqueror. The first prize was given to him who unhorsed the greatest number of knights, the second and third in proportion. Thus the victory was determined by the number of men unhorsed. It was frequently referred to the decision of the ladies, who acted as sovereign judges of the tournament. In case the prize was not given to the knight whom they held most in esteem, they often decreed a second in his favour; and this was not less, but more honourable than the first. This authority of the fair

sex contributed greatly to polish the manners of that age, gentlemen being afraid to commit any action that might render them undeserving of their good graces. The lady who shewed this mark of her favour to a knight, was taken out to dance by him, as his partner, at the evening entertainment.

NOTWITHSTANDING all the precautions to prevent the mischief that might happen at those martial exercises, scarce any were exhibited, in which a great number were not wounded, some killed, some crushed under the scaffolds, some trampled to death by the horses, and others smothered in the dust. Above twenty princes perished at different times, at those entertainments. The popes thundered out their anathemas against them; and those who perished on such occasions, were denied the honour of Christian burial. And yet so strong was the passion of the nobility, in most countries, for this their favourite entertainment, from a desire of displaying their courage and address before the ladies, that no bulls, decrees, or anathemas, were able to restrain them*. Nothing less than the tragical death of Henry II. of France, who was killed at a tournament in 1559, could put an end to these noble, but dangerous sports. With them died the spirit of chivalry, or lived no more but in romances.

BUT it is time now to close this scene of mimic combat, and return, with king Albert, to Sweden, where civil discord had once more erected her standard, and soon spread desolation and ruin through that distracted kingdom†.

* The last tournaments in Germany were held at Worms and Ratisbon, in 1487.

† M. de Sainte Palaye mem. sur L'anc. cheval. Abbe Velly. Beehr, Vigilantius Arbilla in bellicis progymnasmatibus.

C H A P. VII.

A L B E R T, King of SWEDEN,

A L B E R T III. and

J O H N VII.

D U K E S of M E C K L E N B U R G.

From 1384 to 1412.

E M P E R O R S of G E R M A N Y,

W E N C E S L A U S, - - - - 1378.

R O B E R T - - - - 1400.

S I G I S M U N D - - - - 1410.

K I N G S of E N G L A N D,

R I C H A R D II. - - - - 1377.

H E N R Y IV. - - - - 1399.

Diffensions in Sweden. Enquiry into king Albert's conduct. Margaret succeeds to the crown of Denmark. The Swedish malecontents apply to her for succours to depose their sovereign. The Danes and Swedes prepare for war. King Albert gives battle to the Danes, is defeated and taken prisoner, together with his son Eric.

LITTLE did king Albert imagine, when recreating himself with tournaments and public spectacles, that this was to be his last scene of enjoyment upon the throne; that cares and inquietudes were impending over his head; and that the remainder of his days was to be dashed and embittered with anguish and sorrow. Little did he foresee the tempest that was gathering on the other side of the Baltic, which bursting with sudden violence upon his return to Sweden, overwhelmed him in a sea of troubles and distress. Thus we find, that even the thrones of princes are not secure from the storms of adversity: fortune, after she has for a while deluded them with her treacherous smiles, by a sudden and unexpected reverse too fre-

Diffensions
in Sweden.

Enquiry into
king Al-
bert's con-
duct.

quently shifts the visionary scene, brings on a train of calamities, and concludes the drama (for royalty and all its pomp are no more) with some fatal catastrophe.

THE minds of the Swedish nation, or rather of the Aristocratical party, were unhappily alienated from their once favourite monarch. This disaffected disposition of the nobles had been increasing for some time; but upon his return from Wismar, it broke out into open rebellion. Though he was a prince of their own chusing, and possessed of most amiable endowments, generous, brave, and magnificent, they could not forgive him one natural infirmity, a predilection for his native country. His preferring a few Germans to lucrative posts and employments, was looked upon with a jealous eye, and construed into a design to make use of them as his tools to subvert the liberties of Sweden. This was the source of his calamities, and of that thick cloud of adversity, which over-cast the remainder of his days.

It is difficult for a prince, who is sovereign of two independent states, to conduct himself in such a manner, as to give equal satisfaction to both. And if one of those states should happen to be the place of his nativity, it will be always surmised, that he is inclined to favour it in preference to the other. But a country that has chosen a foreign prince for its sovereign, does not seem to have any right to complain of his having a particular affection to his native soil; for such a sentiment is conformable both to nature and reason. Is it just, is it in the least reasonable, that because a people have for their own convenience called in a foreign prince to reign over them, he is therefore to renounce his natural attachment to his country, to his kindred, to his friends; that is, to sacrifice the dearest and most sacred connections, and to divest himself of humanity? Is it not mean and illiberal to expect it? All that can be required of such a prince, is not to oppress the one nation, by favouring the other; nor to give his new subjects reason to believe, that he has accepted of the sovereignty of their country, only to promote the interest of his ancient domains. A sovereign in that situation, should resemble

resemble that bright luminary, the sun, which diffuses its genial warmth equally to both hemispheres. The Swedes are a brave, but jealous people; thinking themselves ill used by the affection which king Albert shewed to his German subjects, they began to form themselves into cabals, to arraign his conduct, and to charge him with a premeditated design of subverting the liberties of the kingdom. Historical impartiality obliges us to give the particulars of this charge, as recorded by the Swedish writers.

ACCORDING to these accounts, king Albert, when he found himself settled on the throne, and master of all the strong holds in the kingdom, began to be elated with prosperity, and to think of establishing an arbitrary power over his subjects of Sweden. With this view, he endeavoured to crush the chief nobility; and to counterballance their authority, sent for several German lords, whom he invested with the command of the principal forts, and with the most lucrative employments in the state. Though most of them were no way conspicuous for merit, he preferred them to more deserving persons, and matched them with young ladies of the noblest families in the kingdom. Many he introduced into the senate, in direct violation of the laws of the realm; and under various pretences filled the country with foreign mercenaries, who by their insolence and avarice rendered themselves extremely odious to the Swedes. In order to pay this army, he levied exorbitant taxes on his subjects, whose indignation he farther excited by gratifying the rapacity of his needy favourites, and sending considerable sums of money over to Mecklenburg. This impoverished the country to such a degree, that it was impossible for the people to pay the taxes. He therefore convened the states, and represented to that assembly, that the revenues of the crown were insufficient to maintain the regal dignity; that the nation must contribute to the support of its sovereign; and the easiest way would be, to annex to the crown one third of the civil and ecclesiastical fiefs of the kingdom. The diet expressed their disapprobation of his conduct, beseeching him to leave the patrimony of their ancestors untouched,
and

and not to invade the liberties of the nation. They farther remonstrated to him, that the present revenues were amply sufficient to maintain the dignity of the crown, provided he would withhold his profusion to foreigners, and discharge the mercenary troops that were become so burthensome to the people. Albert, unmoved with these arguments, determined to have recourse to violence; and accordingly, seized upon one third of all the fiefs, ecclesiastical and civil, which occasioned a general murmur among the clergy and nobility*. Such are the heavy charges with which the Swedish writers endeavour to blacken the memory of king Albert.

Answer to
those charges.

THE unfortunate are always in the wrong; while right and justice are but too apt to range themselves on the side of success. However, from the history of Sweden, it evidently appears that this nation, for several hundred years before and after the reign of king Albert, never had a sovereign with whom they were long satisfied; and it may be reasonably presumed, that during this period, their kings were not always in the wrong. If the anarchy of those times be properly taken into consideration, we shall be thoroughly able to account for the frequent revolutions and broils in that miserable kingdom. The clergy and nobility had, by different usurpations, engrossed so large a part of the prince's revenue, that it was not really sufficient for the exigencies of government. The public authority was almost entirely lodged in the senate, and the king was little better than the president of that body. The senate had been originally instituted only as a council to advise the king; but by degrees they assumed a power to controul him. The clergy were possessed of the greatest part of the lands in the whole kingdom; and most of them were temporal lords. Their privileges, which had been extorted or usurped, made a considerable diminution in the revenue and authority of the prince. They exacted what conditions they pleased of their monarch, before they would crown him. They acted like so many independent princes, built fortresses, and kept garrisons in them: sometimes

* Pontan, Puffendorff, Vertot.

they

they scrupled not to take up arms against their sovereign, especially when they suspected he had any design to resume the duties and lands that belonged to the crown. The nobility fortified their castles, from whence they often made excursions, to the terror and annoyance of their neighbours. They defended their rights, and repelled injuries, by force of arms. The peasants were vassals to the clergy and nobility; and from a blind obedience to their lords, were obstinate asserters of a tyrannical authority. In a word, government had intirely lost its executive power; the king had not a sufficient force to preserve the public peace; and his rights had been usurped at different times, by the clergy and nobility, who formed an untractable and licentious aristocracy. Is it, therefore, to be wondered, if many of their princes attempted to alter so wild a constitution, for the sake of introducing a proper system of order and government. Constitutions and laws are made for the support of civil society; they ought, therefore, to be new modelled, whenever they are subversive of that end. But every attempt of this kind was reckoned an encroachment of power; the monarch was said to aim at despotism; this occasioned a general revolt, and the kingdom was perpetually involved in civil combustions.

WE do not, however, pretend to justify every part of king Albert's conduct, or to affirm, that he committed no political mistakes during his long administration. Princes are more liable, perhaps, to err than private persons, as it is impossible for them to see every thing themselves, and they are generally surrounded by flatterers, whose interest it is to conceal the truth. And yet it is proper we should hear what the advocates of this prince have to alledge in his vindication. With regard to the preferring of foreigners, it must be acknowledged, that it never fails to give the highest offence to a nation; and, perhaps, king Albert carried the point a little too far, since he promoted his cousin, duke Rudolphus of Stargard, bishop of Schwerin, to the bishoprick of Scaten in Sweden; and granted some other preferments to a few of his countrymen, who were not, however, with-

without merit. But still the most important and honourable employments were conferred upon the Swedes; and as to the inferior posts, it is well known, that till within these few centuries, it was the established custom in Sweden, to fill up the places of civil magistrates with Germans, who were regularly elected to those offices. It would be, therefore, most unjust in the Swedes, to censure king Albert for a custom of their own making, which obtained, in all probability, long before his reign, and was observed even after he was de-throned.

WITH respect to the taxes and duties, we should consider the terms upon which the kingdoms of Sweden and Denmark were at that time, and what jealousies and animosities prevailed between the two nations. King Albert had made two attempts to recover the province of Schonen from the Danes; and though he did not succeed, still he demonstrated his zeal for the glory and prosperity of his kingdom. These wars had been attended with great expence, and being unsuccessful, were, of course, condemned by the people. In order to be upon his guard against any surprize from the enemy, it was necessary for him to maintain a considerable body of troops, which could not be subsisted without money, nor the latter raised without taxes. And it is well known by the general experience of all states, that however great the necessity may be for new taxes, they are always unacceptable to a nation.

IN the last place, the re-uniting of the third part of the fiefs of the nobility and clergy, might, perhaps, be justified by the principles of equity; and in all probability, he meddled only with an inconsiderable part, notwithstanding they made so great a clamour and outcry. For in former times of discord and confusion, neither the nobility nor clergy can be supposed to have neglected any opportunity of usurping as much as they could of the king's demefnes. This very step of re-uniting, was afterwards practised under Gustavus Vasa, and still farther extended under Charles Gustavus
and

and Charles IX. Yet the Swedes did not think that this would justify them in withdrawing their allegiance from their sovereign. But the times are altered; the ferocious Swedes of former ages have been succeeded by a more mild and more rational race, who are apt to forgive the frailties of their princes, to judge impartially of the rectitude or injustice of their actions, and to be averse from having recourse to arms for a redress of their grievances. The conduct of the whole nation, during the reign of Charles XII. is a sufficient proof of the truth of this remark. Crantzius seems to speak favourably of king Albert's conduct, during his administration in Sweden. However, the Swedes were no gainers by the exchange; for though some irregularities might have been committed by king Albert and his ministers, yet the deposition of that prince was productive of a situation much less desirable, even of a kind of anarchy and general confusion, which it was impossible to rectify, till the great Gustavus Vasa rescued the nation from a foreign yoke, and restored the ancient splendor of the Swedish monarchy *.

BUT to return to our narration: king Albert having thought proper to re-unite the third part of the civil and ecclesiastical fiefs to the crown, the nobility made earnest remonstrances, as hath been already observed, in order to prevail upon him to restore things to their former state. Their representations proving ineffectual, and finding themselves too weak to oppose him by open force, the greater part of them sent him word, that they renounced their oath of allegiance, and withdrew to Denmark for shelter and assistance from that monarchy †.

DENMARK was then governed by the celebrated queen Margaret. We have already seen how, upon the death of her father, king Waldemar, she had been intrusted with the administration of the kingdom, and the guardianship of her son Olaus. But this prince, the last sprig of the race of the Folkungians, who had sat on the throne of Sweden upwards of three centuries, was snatched away in the flower of his youth, after hav-

The Swedish malecontents retire to Denmark.

Margaret succeeds to the crown of Denmark.

* Crantzius, Suecia & Dania, Pontan, Corner, Buckholtz, Franck.

† Pontan, Puffendorff, Vertot, Buckholtz.

1387.

ing given great expectations that he would prove worthy of the Danish throne. He died at Falsterbo in Schonen, in the seventeenth year of his age, and his body was interred in a private manner in the monastery of Sora*. Fortune seconded the prudent administration of this princess in such a manner, that she found little or no difficulty in succeeding to her son. If on the one hand, custom had not yet authorised the election of a female, on the other, the experience they had of her government, left no room to doubt of her capacity. From this election, the nobility expected a confirmation of their privileges, and the clergy flattered themselves that now they should reign triumphant, under a female government. Thus Margaret was elected by the states, and exchanged the quality of a regent for that of a sovereign, having already borne the same title as wife of king Haquin. The states in their declaration, at the diet of election, observed, that they conferred on this princess the power of governing the kingdom of Denmark, “because she
“is the daughter of Waldemar, and the mother of Olaus; and
“because they are satisfied with her mild administration.” A very remarkable passage, as it contains in two words, the whole right of succession, which obtained at that period.

And to the
crown of
Norway.

THE Norwegians followed the example of Denmark; the chief persons in the government were gained over by money,

* Sora in Zealand, where his monument is still to be seen, with two epitaphs in Latin verse. As the queen concealed his death for some days, through political views, a popular report was spread, that she had secreted him in some part, in order to reign in his stead. This gave rise to the imposture of the pretended Olaus, who set up for the crown fifteen years after, and gained a great number of followers among the vulgar. It is said, that he was a foster-brother of Olaus, by which means he had learnt many particulars concerning that prince, which very few besides were acquainted with; a circumstance that gave credit to the imposture. But the queen having got him into her power, convinced the world of the cheat, her son Olaus having had a large wart between his shoulders, and the impostor none, so that he was burnt alive. This imposture also occasioned the pious novel, mentioned in the annals of the Franciscan order, where it is feigned that this prince privately withdrew from court, and preferring the habit and austerity of their fraternity, to regal pomp and luxury, entered himself into their society in a convent in Italy, where he lived and died a saint, by the name of Henry

I

and

and she was mistress of the army and of the principal places of strength; so that, even had the nation been otherwise disposed, she could hardly have failed of carrying her point. The senate declared, in the name of the states, that they conferred on this princess the power of governing the kingdom during her life, with all the authority which the laws had hitherto granted to the kings of Norway; and that, after her decease, the crown should pass in consequence of the order of succession established by those very laws, to her young nephew, prince Eric, son of Wratislaus, duke of Pomerania, and of Mary of Mecklenburg, daughter of Ingeburga, eldest sister to queen Margaret, as being the next male heir to that queen, after the exclusion of duke Albert. This settlement was owing to the particular aversion which that implacable princess bore to the illustrious house of Mecklenburg. She inveighed most bitterly against king Albert, whom she charged with usurping the crown of Sweden, in prejudice to her father-in-law, and to her husband, and with assisting his brother, duke Henry, to harass and distress the kingdom of Denmark. She, therefore, used all her interest with the states of Denmark and Norway, to exclude the princes of Mecklenburg from the succession, for having borne arms against those kingdoms; and to settle both crowns on her grand-nephew, prince Eric. What is very remarkable in this same deed of settlement, the Norwegians assert, “that the queen would “have been glad, if her nephew, duke Albert, had been nominated her successor.” But this was only a pretence of that artful princess, for duke Albert died three months before this event, having been cut off by the plague in 1387, as hath been already observed*, and the news had not yet reached Norway: even if he had lived, there is no doubt but the election of a king of Denmark and Norway, would have proceeded in the same manner. No wonder if king Albert was highly offended at so unfair and partial a proceeding, by which the lineal succession was interrupted in consequence of a female pique, and

* See pag. 298.

the princes of his family were deprived of their right to the crowns of Denmark and Norway. The queen, who was exceeding jealous of her authority, would not have cared to share it with a prince capable of governing, whatever she might affirm to the contrary; and the declaration of the Norwegians only proves, that she was not a stranger to the art of dissimulation, since at the same time, she was underhand promoting the election of young Eric of Pomerania for her successor. This choice answered the views both of the Norwegians, and of the queen. The former could not, without reluctance, submit to be commanded by a woman; therefore they chose to have a prince to inherit the throne, who, during the time of his minority, should still enjoy the title of king. Besides, they had the satisfaction of complying with the order of succession, that had been established among them, time immemorial. The queen on the other hand, too jealous of her authority to share it with a husband, was highly pleased to have an infant of five years of age appointed her successor, which gave her full leisure to gratify her ambition, and a fair opportunity of holding the young prince in a long dependence*.

SUCH was the princess, who at this critical juncture held the reins of government in Norway and Denmark. When we compare her conduct to that of her rival, king Albert, we shall find that the great revolution which happened soon after in Sweden, is not intirely to be attributed to fortune. The whole tenor of her administration, shews her to have been a perfect mistress of that great principle of government, the art of dissimulation, and to have been endowed with a capacity for conducting the greatest designs, much superior to her sex. She ever acted up to her character and dignity, and seems to have been swayed by no other love but that of glory, by no other passion but that of commanding over men, and extending the boundaries of her empire.

The Swedish malecontents apply to queen Margaret.

THE Swedish malecontents applied for protection to queen Margaret, who rejoiced in secret at their troubles, and had en-

* Pontan, Huitfeld, Puffendorff, Mallet, Franck.

deavoured

deavoured to gain some of the leading men of the nation. She now carested the Swedish lords, expressing at the same time, the highest sensibility of the grievances complained of, and an equal surprize, that a brave and gallant people should have so long stooped to the indignities which they suffered from the insolent Germans. But with regard to the succours they expected, she spoke with some indifference, hinting, that she was not inclined to interfere in their quarrel, and to engage, upon their account, in a war, the event of which might prove destructive to her own dominions. Thus the Swedish lords found themselves in a strange dilemma, being reduced either to renounce the aid for which they had applied to that princess, or to purchase it at her own price. Hence they remained, for some time, in a state of suspense and irresolution, when the queen pulled off the mask, and openly declared, “ that since “ she exposed her own crown to the issue of a doubtful war, “ it was but just she should have the prospect of an additional “ kingdom.” In short, she not only insisted upon their promise of electing her to the throne, but of rendering the crown permanent in her family; a condition which, hard as it was, the Swedish lords, from their hatred and apprehension of king Albert, were obliged to accept. They imagined, however, from the experience of what had passed in Denmark and Norway, that she would be satisfied with almost the bare title of queen of Sweden; and should she endeavour to exceed the limits of her prerogative, the states and senate of Denmark and Sweden would be able to put a stop to her encroachments. It was, therefore, agreed by a public instrument, that the Swedish nobility, and their adherents, should rise up in arms, depose king Albert, acknowledge Margaret queen of Sweden, and deliver up all the fortresses and strong holds in, their hands into her possession. On her side, she promised to maintain the liberties and privileges of the several orders of the kingdom, and to send a considerable body of troops to support her election. This act was agreed to on Palm Sunday, and the marshal, Eric Kettilson, together with the whole senate of Sweden,

Conduct of
that princess.

Sweden, acceded to it. The malecontents having signed the treaty, appeared in arms against the king, and sent a herald to declare, that they renounced the allegiance they had sworn to him. At the same time they proclaimed Margaret, queen of Sweden; and after they had received the Danish succours, they marched with their joint forces towards Gothland*.

Remarks on
the conduct
of the Swe-
dish nobles.

THE Aristocratical spirit which in that age prevailed amongst the Swedes, was never more conspicuous than in the behaviour of their nobility upon this occasion. Those of the lower class, who groaned in a state of vassalage, were strongly attached to the king, on account of his great benevolence of disposition, and considered him as their only support against the encroachments of a tyrannical and oppressive nobility: yet this attachment was of little service to the monarch; nor did the commons once offer to rise in his favour, when the nobles had taken up arms, and with an unparalleled insolence sent a herald to their prince, to declare they would no longer acknowledge him as their sovereign. Albert had not taken upon him the government of Sweden, upon condition of forfeiting the regal authority in case of mal-administration: the power of the nobles was so exorbitant, that if they acted uniformly, and with spirit, they were always able to obtain a redress of grievances, without proceeding to that extremity. The king had bound himself by oath to govern according to law, but there does not appear to have been any law to authorize his deposition. The example of a few reigns proves, indeed, that the Swedes had made no scruple to dethrone some of their princes; but this was where those princes happened to be charged with acts of the most flagrant tyranny. But it is likely, that many of their actions were malevolently misinterpreted by those turbulent nobles and insolent prelates, whom no king nor government could satisfy. Even the unfortunate Magnus Smeck, though so much detested and decried by the Swedes, was beloved and adored by the Norwegians, who gave him the title of Magnus the Good. The case was the same with regard to king Albert,

* Pontan, Mallet, Huitfeld, Puffendorff, Franck, Vertot.

who

who possessed the hearts of his subjects of Mecklenburg. Is it to be supposed, that princes so good and humane in one country, could be tyrants in another? The Swedish nobles, though licentious, haughty, and intractable, were not disposed to shew the least indulgence to the same weaknesses in their princes, who were men like themselves; but upon the least contention or dispute, they threatened to withdraw their allegiance. It is not consistent with my plan, nor is it the province of an historian, who does not pretend to invade that of the politician, to enter into a disquisition concerning the equity and reasonableness of the deposition of sovereigns. Enquiries of so delicate a nature are more prudently secreted from the public eye, and should be carefully locked up with those springs of policy, or those arcana of government, to which even statesmen of the first order seldom have recourse, but in cases of extreme necessity, when the supreme law, the *salus populi*, is in danger. I shall only observe, from able writers, that when a prince has been guilty of abuses against government, his subjects should try every expedient for procuring redress, before they think of shaking off their obedience. And even if it should be found necessary to take up arms, may not a force capable of expelling or dethroning a sovereign, be equally capable of keeping him within the bounds of his legal prerogative? But the Swedish nobles, intoxicated with pride and licentiousness, renounced all allegiance to a prince, whose signal virtues adorned their throne, without making any attempt to circumscribe his power. These precipitate resolutions contributed, indeed, to strengthen the Aristocratical faction, but, by degrees, weakened the kingdom, and, at last, threw it into a state of anarchy and confusion. Nothing can be more just than the observation of Tacitus upon this subject *, “ that the people should bear with the vices and

* “ *Quomodo sterilitatem aut nimios imbres, & cætera naturæ mala, ita luxum, vel avaritiam dominantium tolerate.*” Hist. 4. By which the political historian means only, that the bad life of a prince can be no just cause of resistance; but the maxim cannot be extended to a tyrant, or a prince who attempts to enslave his people.”

“ defects

“ defects of their princes, as they bear with rain, tempests,
 “ and other natural evils ; and that frequent changes are dan-
 “ gerous to a state.” But it is time now to resume the thread
 of our history.

King Albert
 prepares for
 war.

KING Albert being apprized of the motions of his enemies, and finding he could no longer depend on the Swedish army, began to look out for foreign succours. He had still, however, a party in Sweden, especially among the commonalty, to whom he was always very gracious ; and he had, also, some allies in Germany. His cousin John, duke of Stargard ; Albert, count of Holstein, brother of the duke of Sleswick ; and Gunther, count of Ruppın, brought him a respectable reinforcement ; not for the number of troops, but for their excellent discipline, in which the Germans, at that time, surpassed all other nations. He likewise received some succours from the Hanse towns, which were apprehensive of the queen’s power, and would have been glad to prevent the progress of her arms. These being Germans might, perhaps, prove disgusting to the Swedes, but as it was not safe for him, in the present crisis, to trust the latter, he could not be blamed for employing foreigners in his service. To defray the expences of this armament, among other expedients, he mortgaged the isle of Gothland to the knights of the Teutonic order, for the sum of twenty thousand nobles. And here we may observe by the way, that had he been so rapacious and oppressive, as the Swedish writers pretend, he would scarce have had occasion to make use of this last shift for raising money. Might not he have obliged the Swedes to advance what sums he wanted, as soon as he found himself supported by a foreign army ? Though this mortgage was an act of necessity, yet he has been severely censured for it, when it was only what every prince would do under the like circumstances, to relinquish a part in order to preserve the whole : besides, it is observed by some historians, that he had an absolute right to mortgage that island, because it had been taken by the troops of Mecklenburg, and at his own expence ; so that, strictly speaking, it did not belong to Sweden, and, therefore, he could not
 be

be said to have betrayed by this act, the interests of that crown. Having thus assembled a considerable army, and put the fortifications into a good condition, he took the field with the greatest alacrity, resolving to meet his enemies, who, as we before observed, had marched to West-Gothland. But, first of all, he bequeathed his dominions by will, in case of any misfortune, to his son Eric; and should this prince happen to die without issue, to his cousin John, duke of Stargard*.

THESE were the dispositions king Albert made, in support of his right to a crown, of which he had been upwards of twenty-three years in possession. But though he was not at all deficient in the necessary preparations for the field, yet it must be acknowledged, that he committed many mistakes in the cabinet. And, in the first place, he should have had a stricter eye over his subjects, so as to watch the correspondence of the malecontents, and their many excursions into Denmark. By such means he would have discovered their designs, stifled the conspiracy in its infancy, and prevented a long train of disasters. A sovereign who is become obnoxious to his subjects, has no greater danger to apprehend, than the intrigues of neighbouring princes. It is recorded of the emperor Tiberius, that he did more mischief to Artabanus, by fomenting the seditious disposition of his subjects, than he could possibly have done by open hostilities. A prince who intends to establish his authority at home, ought, above all things, to avoid going to war with his neighbours. King Albert should have endeavoured, therefore, to live in amity with Denmark; or else he should have entered into such powerful alliances, as might have been a check to queen Margaret, till he had gained his point in new modelling his own kingdom, and gradually reconciling his subjects to the measures of his government. But his alliances were only with petty princes in Germany, who were unable to support him. Margaret might, without any danger, provoke king Albert, by assuming, on all occasions, the title of

Misconduct
of king Al-
bert.

* Ibid.

queen of Sweden, which she derived from king Haquin her husband: but we do not apprehend it was altogether so politic in king Albert to assume the titles of king of Denmark and Norway *. It is true, as she had already been at enmity with this prince, and in order to create him uneasiness, had formed pretensions to Sweden, before she was queen of Denmark; it was natural for him to set up his father's claim to that crown, which was certainly well founded, in opposition to her pretensions to Sweden. But then he should have secured the affections of his subjects, and consequently the possession of his own kingdom, before he plumed himself with the title of that of his enemies. He should have endeavoured to distinguish himself by some popular act, in order to conciliate the benevolence of the public, and to remove every prejudice. Particularly, he ought to have made it his study to recover the good-will of the clergy, whom he had offended by the laws of mortmain, which they considered as an abridgment of their privileges. The histories of that age being generally written by ecclesiastics, are apt to extol the administration of princes who were benefactors to their body, and to represent them as the best of men, though cruentos sanguine fraterno. But King Albert is highly censured for having been so greatly elated by the number and goodness of his troops, as to think himself in a fair way of making a complete conquest of Denmark. From his confidence of success, he swore he would not take off his helmet, nor put on his night-cap, till he had triumphed over Margaret; a ridiculous oath, which adds nothing to the glory of a victory, but greatly heightens the infamy of a defeat. It is certain, that this prince was rather too sanguine in all his proceedings; he was for carrying

* It is likewise imputed to king Albert, as an act of imprudence, to have quartered three crowns in his arms, as if he set up for sovereign of the three northern kingdoms. This appears from his seals in the archives, and from the carving still extant in the pulpit of the royal chapel at Gadebusch. But this was nothing new, for it is certain, that king Eric, styled the Saint, in the twelfth century, and Magnus Birger, in the thirteenth, made use of the three crowns in their arms. See Loccenius.

every thing by main force, whereas in civil broils, lenient measures are often more effectual. He is also said to have made use of coarse and indecent raillery, with regard to that princess, calling her the hand-maid of monks and priests, by way of reproach for her attachment to the clergy, and particularly to the abbot of Sora, her confessor. It is likewise reported, that he often called her the queen without breeches, and was so indelicate as to send her a whetstone to sharpen her scissars and needles; or, as others pretend, to give a new edge to the swords and lances of the Danish army. If these accusations be true, all that can be said in his excuse is, that his behaviour was agreeable to the rudeness of the times, which fell very short of our modern refinements in politeness. And yet we cannot help suspecting that the Danish writers, as well as the malecontents amongst the Swedes, have advanced many things to prejudice the memory of this prince, that are destitute of foundation. When once a sovereign has lost the affections of the people, it is easy to make them swallow every idle tale concerning him, let it be ever so absurd. Thus from the hatred of the Romans to Tiberius, things altogether fabulous and extravagant were believed of that prince*. The whetstone which hung up by an iron chain in the church of Roschild, till it was removed from thence by king Charles Gustavus to Upsal in Sweden, is said to have been the very same that king Albert sent, out of derision, to queen Margaret; but it appears to have been so monstrously large, that it is scarce credible it could ever have been the present of that unfortunate king, and the whole story must have been a Danish trick, contrived on purpose to ridicule his memory†.

But whatever might have been the misconduct of king Albert in the cabinet, he was far from being destitute of abilities requisite to distinguish him in the field. His courage and intrepidity were equal to those of the most celebrated commanders, though, perhaps, not tempered with that coolness in

Battle of
Falkoping.

* Quamvis fabulosa & immania credebantur. Tacit. ann. 4.

† Pontan, Mallet, Franck, Buckholtz.

action, which constitutes the able general. He had made great preparations for his defence; besides the Swedish army, on which, indeed, he had not much reason to rely, he had received succours, as we have already observed, from his brother, duke Henry, and other German princes in his alliance. The queen, on the other hand, was not backward in her preparations; and besides her own forces, she was sure of a considerable party in Sweden. The king, having reviewed his troops, immediately ordered them to march, and they soon appeared in sight of the enemy, who were encamped in a great plain near Falkoping, in West-Gothland. It is affirmed by some that, impatient to come to a decisive engagement, he sent word to queen Margaret, that he would give her battle on a particular day. The queen had conferred the command of her forces on Ivar Lycke, or Luck, lord of Echolm, an experienced general, next to whom in authority were Henry Parow and Victor Norby, two very gallant officers. The king of Sweden's army was commanded by himself in person, who had under him the duke of Stargard, with the counts of Holstein and Ruppin. The Danish army was entrenched behind a deep morass, where it could not be attacked but to a great disadvantage. But this was no discouragement to king Albert; he imputed that wise precaution to cowardice, unmindful of the maxim of a great captain *, that even when almost sure of victory, a general ought to take every advantage of his enemy. The king, it is said, was advised by a veteran officer not to hazard an engagement, but endeavour to harass the foe by marches and counter-marches: in consequence of such a step, the Danes would be distressed in an enemy's country for want of forage and provisions; and, as the winter was approaching, great numbers of them would be destroyed by the severity of the weather. But his warlike ardour hurried him on with such impetuosity, that he was deaf to all counsel; and his own imprudence proved the source of his disgrace. His

* Pompey.

impatience, would not permit him to pitch upon a proper ground for the field of battle; the deep morafs before him, prevented him from drawing out his right wing; and in endeavouring to remedy this inconveniency at the beginning of the engagement, his troops were thrown into disorder.

THE two armies being drawn up in battle array *, Albert rode along the ranks, to observe the countenances of his men, and then addrested himself to them in words to this effect :

“ FELLOW SOLDIERS AND COUNTRYMEN,

“ THE long expected day is come, on which the fate of a
 “ great kingdom, and the cause of an injured monarch, are
 “ at once to be decided by the valour of your arms. The ene-
 “ mies of my crown and glory, have presumed to traduce and
 “ blacken my most innocent actions, and to lay to my charge
 “ a design to subvert the liberties of this realm. There is not
 “ an event of my life that does not loudly refute this calumny,
 “ and vindicate me from so odious an imputation. Have not
 “ I frequently exposed my person in the defence of these very
 “ liberties, and during the whole course of my reign, steadily
 “ adhered to the system of rescuing Sweden from domestic and
 “ foreign oppression? Is it not owing to my vigorous struggles,
 “ and to the blood and treasure of my family, that this king-
 “ dom has been enabled to raise its head, when almost sinking
 “ under the weight of tyranny, and under hourly apprehen-
 “ sions of being enslaved by its ancient and hereditary enemy?
 “ I was called to the government of this realm by the suffrages
 “ of a free people; I thought myself honoured by their choice;
 “ and have carefully studied, during a long administration of
 “ three-and-twenty years, to prove myself worthy of it. I have
 “ constantly consulted their happiness, and endeavoured to se-
 “ cure, upon the most solid foundations, that liberty which
 “ they have now so ungenerously abused. I am not insensible
 “ of the glory and happiness of reigning in the hearts of a free

* On St. Matthew's day, the twenty-first of September, 1388.

“ people;

“ people ; this is true greatness, to be a king of men, and not
“ of slaves. But the rebellious part of my subjects have, un-
“ der pretext of securing their liberties, plunged into the most
“ abject slavery ; they have thrown off their allegiance to their
“ lawful sovereign, and submitted themselves to a power,
“ whose perpetual aim must be to conquer and enslave this
“ ancient kingdom. They have called in their natural enemies
“ to their assistance, as if the blessings of liberty could be ex-
“ pected from the votaries of tyranny, from the sworn foes of
“ the freedom and happiness of this nation. They have ap-
“ plied for aid to a woman, whose ambition is as boundless as
“ her pride, whom no power, no possession, or extent of ter-
“ ritory, can satisfy ; a woman, who after depriving the prin-
“ ces, my kinsmen, of their just claim to one crown, has long
“ been practising insidious arts, and now has recourse to open
“ violence, to strip me of another. But your valour and sin-
“ cere attachment inspire me with a just confidence, that we
“ shall be able to baffle and confound all her wicked attempts.
“ For my part, I am determined to assert my just rights, and
“ to repel the unjust attacks of my enemies ; in a word, to
“ conquer, or die. Do you, my brave Swedes, shew an
“ equal resolution in supporting your injured king ; do you, my
“ faithful allies, exert the same spirit and vigour in assisting
“ your friend, your countryman. Our courage is, I flatter
“ myself, as undaunted as our cause is just ; our forces are,
“ at least, equal to those of the enemy ; can men, animated
“ by such powerful considerations, be a moment doubtful of
“ success, in triumphing over the pride and ambition of an
“ insolent woman ?”

THIS harangue was received with an universal acclama-
tion ; and the signal of battle being given, the whole army
was instantly in motion. The king, regardless of danger,
advanced towards the morass, at the head of the right wing,
and was followed by the German auxiliaries ; but the
Swedes, either through treachery or cowardice, did not pro-
perly support him. Several of them deserted openly to the
enemy

enemy, and among the rest Gerard Snakenburg, whom he had knighted before the battle. So true it is, that when once a prince has lost the affections of his subjects, all ties, however sacred, are disregarded. And now the action becoming general, the adverse hosts fought hand to hand. The battle was bloody, and long disputed: the fate of a great kingdom depending upon the event, both sides behaved with that perseverance and courage, which the hopes of so noble a prize are apt to inspire. But Margaret's good fortune prevailed. The king, though betrayed by the Swedish troops, continued to fight at the head of his auxiliaries with the utmost intrepidity. He had taken two standards of the enemy, and was carrying all before him, when the German cavalry plunged into the morass, where they were so embarrassed, as to find it impossible to extricate themselves. The rest of the army, not being supported by the cavalry, were thrown into disorder; in consequence of which, the Danes obtained a complete victory. What rendered it more decisive, was the misfortune of king Albert and his son Eric, who were both taken prisoners, together with the flower of the German nobility. Among these were, the counts of Holstein and Ruppin, and Rudolph, bishop of Scara, who, being fired with indignation at the treachery of the Swedes, stuck close to the gallant king, and performed prodigies of valour. The duke of Mecklenburg-Stargard, the king's cousin, made his escape with the remains of the discomfited army, and got safe to Stockholm.

King Albert
is defeated
and taken
prisoner.

WHILE the fate of this memorable day was depending, queen Margaret had taken up her quarters at the castle of Werdinburg, not far from the field of battle. There, in anxious suspense, she awaited the decision of this important contest. How great her joy was at the news of the victory, and especially at the circumstance of the king's captivity, may more easily be imagined than expressed. As the Danes were conducting the king through the field of battle, strewn with dead bodies, he was struck with the melancholy spectacle; and recollecting what the veteran said to him before the engagement,
he

he could not help pronouncing these words with a deep sigh :
 “ O old man ! old man ! would to God I had followed thy
 “ advice.” This seems to be the only occasion on which he
 expressed any concern for his defeat ; his conduct was, in other
 respects, full of dignity, and by no means abject or mean
 spirited. Fortitude is ever becoming a prince, let his state be
 what it will ; and, if he has lost his dominions, it is still a
 greater disgrace to lose his courage, the only thing, as the po-
 litical historian * wisely observes, that can enable him to
 maintain his rank, in spite of the injuries of fortune. But
 to return to queen Margaret : from Werdinburg she pro-
 ceeded directly to Bahus, on the frontiers of the three king-
 doms, and gave orders that the prisoners should follow her.
 The king, at first, was conducted to the castle of Callindburg †,
 and from thence to Bahus, where the hapless monarch was
 brought before that very princess, whom, in the height of his pro-
 sperity, he is said to have so imprudently insulted. The queen’s
 revenge was indelicate ; in the impotence of her rage, she pre-
 sented him with a very large night cap, to remind him of his
 oath ; and begged he would stand godfather to the children,
 whom he accused her of having by the abbot of Sora. If the
 fact be true, it is a striking picture of the rudeness of the age,
 and of the impotence of the human mind, upon any great and
 sudden torrent of felicity. From Bahus, the king and his son
 were removed to Laholm in Schonen, where they languished
 seven years in painful captivity ‡.

* Tacit. Hist. 4.

† In revenge for the affront, this castle was destroyed by the Swedes in 1659.

‡ Pontan, Huitfeldt, Puffendorff, Mallet, Franck, Beehr.

C H A P. VIII.

Reflections on the defeat of king Albert. Continuance of the civil war in Sweden. The Vitalian pirates. Treaty of Labholm. King Albert and his son are set at liberty. The union of Calmar in 1397. The ladies of Mecklenburg pawn their jewels to pay king Albert's ransom. Quarrel between queen Margaret and the Teutonic knights. King Albert, upon the death of his son, resigns the crown of Sweden. The emperor Wenceslaus deposed. Woman burnt for heresy. Death of queen Margaret. Death of king Albert.

THE contemplation of important revolutions, and the downfall of mighty princes, never fail to impress the mind with a pleasing melancholy: the natural malignity of mankind makes them view, with a secret satisfaction, the distresses and fatal catastrophes, to which those whom fortune has raised so high above the common sphere, are equally liable with the rest of their species. They behold the incessant fluctuations of property, power, and splendor, as a spectacle which, bringing down the great to their level, affords them a temporary consolation; and, in some measure, reconciles them to their comparative meanness. On the other hand, these revolutions are an instructive lesson to princes; a lesson which teaches them not to be elated by the smiles of fortune, or intoxicated with power, but to behave with moderation, and to respect the liberties and rights of the rest of mankind, who are, naturally, upon an equality with themselves. It teaches them to endeavour to conciliate the affections of their subjects, as the only means of rendering the tranquility of their government permanent, and securing it upon solid foundations. The stability of princely families, and the welfare of kingdoms, depend upon the good will of the people; princes, therefore, should always have this object in view, to endear themselves to their subjects, by adhering, invariably, to the principles of

*Reflections
on the de-
feat of king
Albert.*

justice and humanity, by pursuing every measure that may be conducive to their happiness, and by observing that golden maxim recommended by the emperor Galba to his adopted son Piso, to behave in such a manner to their subjects, as they would desire their sovereign to behave to them, if they were themselves in a private station. Those who regulate their conduct by different principles, are either consigned to oblivion, or their memories are handed down with infamy and disgrace to posterity.

THERE is, however, an over-ruling Providence, which, for reasons impenetrable to our finite understandings, baffles even the best concerted schemes of human prudence; and, in spite of all the efforts of policy, overthrows the grandeur of princes, and lays their proudest glories in the dust. Of this we have a remarkable instance before us, in the unfortunate king Albert. This prince's natural disposition was generous, humane, and benevolent. He shewed himself a strict observer of justice, an enemy to tyranny and oppression; and if, perhaps, he was mistaken in some points of government, his intentions were good; for he certainly had in view the happiness and welfare of his people. Yet by his partiality to his countrymen, an infirmity (if such it can be called) almost inseparable from human nature, he lost the affection of his Swedish subjects; and then all his virtues, and the important services he had done to the nation, were intirely forgot. Little did it avail him, that he headed a powerful army, which he endeavoured to animate by his presence and example; he saw himself basely deserted by his own troops in the field of battle; and by a sudden and unexpected reverse of fortune, deprived both of his liberty and his crown.

FEW victories had ever been productive of so much glory to the Danes, as that which they obtained in the fields of Falkoping. Their loss was inconsiderable, only eight officers of note were slain, among whom Henry Parow died of his wounds, greatly regretted. With regard to king Albert's army, the Germans accused the Swedes of treachery and cowardice, to

to which they imputed the defeat and imprisonment of that unfortunate prince. On the other hand, the Swedes retorted on the Germans, that they were the cause of the war, and of all the king's disasters. Such was the reverse of fortune that befel this prince, after he had reigned over the Swedes three-and-twenty years. Many thought they could discover a strong resemblance between the fate of king Albert and that of his predecessor, Magnus. Albert was raised to the throne of Sweden by the choice of the people; this had been also the case with regard to his predecessor: Magnus was stripped of the crown by his own subjects, to make way for king Albert; and Albert was afterwards dethroned to make room for queen Margaret: Albert gave battle to Magnus, and took him prisoner; the same fate befel himself afterwards, in the memorable engagement near Falkoping. It is moreover said, that the battle was fought on the same day of the month on which Magnus had been defeated so long before by king Albert. This gave occasion to his enemies to consider it as a judgment against this prince, for siding with the Swedes against their unfortunate monarch. But what criterion have we to know a judgment by, except the justice or iniquity of a cause? And if Magnus, as the Swedes themselves allow, was justly deposed, why should a judgment be inflicted on the prince who deposed him? To conclude the parallel, Magnus was confined seven years, and afterwards banished to Norway; in like manner, Albert remained seven years in confinement, and was, at length, obliged to abdicate the kingdom, and return to his hereditary dominions.

THE victory of Falkoping had made Margaret mistress of all Sweden, except the city of Stockholm, the castle of Calmar, and a few other fortresses, which were still held by the adherents of king Albert. The inhabitants of Stockholm, one half of whom were said to be Germans, had a very great affection for that prince, and continued sincerely attached to him during the whole time of his captivity. In this they only shewed their gratitude, for the favours they had received from him during his whole reign; and a little before the late fatal overthrow,

Endeavours
are used to
restore king
Albert.

they obtained from him a full confirmation of their privileges. This circumstance of their attachment to that unfortunate monarch, seems, in some measure, to refute the charge of the Swedish and Danish writers against his memory, and to shew, as hath been already observed, that he was not opposed by the order of the burghers, or that of the peasants, but by the nobility and clergy, whose ambitious and self-interested views he had openly thwarted. However that may have been, the neighbouring states being apprized of Margaret's successes, formed a resolution to reduce a power that had made so rapid a progress, and threatened to enslave the north of Europe. The princes of the house of Mecklenburg had a particular interest to revenge so near a relation, and to maintain the regal dignity in their family. The counts of Holstein, and several of the Hanse towns, alarmed at the common danger, espoused the cause of the unfortunate monarch. So powerful a combination, gave rise to one of the bloodiest wars that ever ravaged the kingdom of Sweden.

Civil war in
Sweden.

THE anarchy lately established in the town of Stockholm, had rendered it a prey to all the horrors of intestine war. The German citizens, who were faithful to king Albert, entertained a suspicion, that the Swedish burghers had conspired to deliver up the town to queen Margaret. This opinion became so prevalent, that the streets were, in consequence of it, infested by gangs of armed ruffians, known by the name of the Hat-brethren, from the peculiar fashion of their hats. Under pretext of a suspicion of treason, they insulted the principal inhabitants of the town, and committed the greatest outrages. At length, the Swedish burghers took up arms, and a civil war must have ensued to the ruin of the common cause, if the magistrates and the governor of the citadel, had not interposed, prevailing on them to take a mutual oath that they would drop all animosities, and live on terms of friendship. But this accommodation was of no long continuance. In vain did the magistrates exert their endeavours to preserve order and tranquility. The Hat-brethren, filled with confidence in their strength, would listen

to no advice, and submit to no authority. One night they assembled in the town-house, and the governor of the citadel at their head, sent for the chief citizens, as upon business of importance. When they came, a list was read over to them, of such persons as were suspected most strongly of treason, and corresponding with the enemy. Of these, some were imprisoned in the tower, and others put to the torture, several of whom are said to have expired through extremity of pain. There could not be a sight of greater horror than that which this unfortunate city exhibited! citizens with drawn daggers, threatening destruction to each other; a fierce enemy at their gates, and pale famine staring them in the face; houses consumed by fire; robberies and violences of all sorts committed with impunity; even religion openly prophaned; and the churches polluted with murder and blood. These scenes were scarce surpassed by the sanguinary Roman proscriptions, in which citizens slaughtered their brothers with their own hands, and the son was often seen to go reeking with his father's blood, to present his head to his barbarous hirer, and receive the reward of parricide. The same cruel tragedies were acted over in other towns and fortresses, garrisoned by German troops, and took their rise from the jealousy and hatred, by which the two nations were hurried on to their mutual destruction. The particulars of those cruelties are so shocking, that it is impossible to read them without the utmost horror. From the fortresses and strong holds above-mentioned, king Albert's troops made frequent excursions, which greatly harassed queen Margaret's army. A considerable number of peasants assembled together in the neighbourhood of Enköping, in order to repel force by force; but for want of discipline, they were easily cut in pieces by the garrison of Stockholm. Westmania, Sudermania, and Upland, were the principal seats of these ravages; and the towns of Nyköping and Westeraas were reduced to ashes.

In the midst of these distractions, the city of Stockholm was hard pressed by the Danish army, but the German garrison made so gallant a defence, as baffled every attempt of the besiegers.

The duke of
Stargard
raises the
siege of
Stockholm.

siegers. They must have surrendered however, at length, for want of provisions, had not the duke of Mecklenburg-Stargard arrived most seasonably to their relief, with a fleet of ships from Rostock and Wismar *. The fleet had greatly suffered by a storm, some ships were lost, and the duke himself, a bold intrepid prince, had narrowly escaped being shipwrecked. The zeal of those two cities in raising so generous a supply, is a manifest indication, that king Albert was greatly beloved by his German subjects; that his misfortunes had rather raised their pity, than cooled their affection; that they were determined to assert his declining cause, and to attempt, at all hazards, the recovery of his liberty. This noble and generous attachment is so much the more worthy of our praise, as even in private life, friendship and affection are generally guided by fortune, and quickly withdrawn from those who have been deserted by that blind goddess. By means of this armament, those two faithful cities had the extraordinary satisfaction of reviving the spirits of the royalists, by raising the siege of Stockholm. Their zeal did not stop here; in order to distress the Danes and revolted Swedes, they published a proclamation, encouraging privateers of every nation to cruize against all vessels belonging to the queen's subjects, and to bring them into their harbours. But great inconveniences arose from the licentiousness of those corsairs, even to the Hanse towns themselves, by whom they had been first encouraged; for becoming habituated to plunder, they refused to desist from that barbarous manner of life, even after the conclusion of the peace; and, in order to continue their lawless practices, they took possession of the isle of Gothland. From hence they committed the most horrid depredations and outrages on all trading vessels, friends as well as foes, and were

Origin of the
Vitalian brethren.

* The cities of Rostock, however, and Wismar, did not act intirely gratis on this occasion, for they had bonds of compensation on king Albert's deliverance, given to them in 1391, by the nobility, and in 1392 by the dukes themselves, which may be seen in Ungnad. Amoenit.

long

long known in the Baltic by the name of the Vitalians*, or Vitalian brethren†.

THE duke of Stargard having landed his troops and ammunition, the complaints against the Swedish inhabitants revived; and it was reported, that the tortured criminals had made important discoveries. This gave rise to new severities, which, perhaps, are exaggerated by the Swedish historians. Certain it is, however, that the siege was raised upon the arrival of the duke of Stargard. This enterprizing prince having supplied the town with provisions, began to scour the adjacent country, and spread terror and desolation among the enemies of king Albert. From Stockholm he set sail again with his fleet, and making descents on several parts of the coast, committed great ravages. The peasants were so enraged, that assembling in a tumultuous manner, they ventured to attack him in the neighbourhood of Tilling, but having no officer of experience at their head, they were soon defeated and cut in pieces‡.

Further operations of the duke of Stargard.

WHILE the flames of civil war raged, with unremitting fury, in Sweden, the Hanse towns, finding their trade greatly impaired by the depredations of the Vitalian pirates, sent a deputation to queen Margaret, proposing terms of peace, and earnestly requesting that king Albert might be set at liberty. The deputies arrived at Helsingburg, where the queen then resided: conferences were shortly to be held for concluding a peace, when a quarrel arose at a public inn, between the Danes and Germans belonging to the deputies retinue, which put an end to the negotiation. One of the deputies was Gregory Swerting, burgomaster of Stralsund: this gentleman perceiving that the Germans were likely to be overpowered by the mob, repaired himself to the palace to apply for assistance; but before he could get thither, a barbarous Dane, without regarding the character of the deputy, or

1394.

* Some derive this name from the Latin word victualia, victuals, because they were, at first, designed to carry provisions to the garrison of Stockholm, which was then besieged. Others pretend it comes from fetalian, which, in the language of the country, signifies provisions.

† Crantz. Chemnitz, Latomus, Puffendorff, Pontan, Mallet, Buekholtz, Franck.

‡ Ibid.

the law of nations, gave the venerable senator such a wound in the head, that immediate death was the consequence. This struck such a panic into the rest, that they instantly betook themselves to their ships, and set sail for Germany.

THIS year was rendered farther remarkable by a signal exploit of the citizens of Rostock; an exploit which will immortalize their memory, and may vie with the most renowned actions of Greek or Roman story. The city of Stockholm being hard pressed by the Danish army, and in danger of surrendering for want of provisions, the magistrates of Rostock sent eight vessels with ammunition and troops to relieve the garrison. They set sail just at the beginning of winter; so that no sooner had they reached the coast of Denmark, but the sea being covered over with ice, the ships became utterly incapable of motion. The Danes perceiving their distress, poured down upon them in crowds, looking upon them as a sure prey, which nothing could prevent from falling into their hands. But Hugo (a name worthy of being recorded on a monument of brass) who had been entrusted with the care of this convoy, and appointed commander in chief upon the occasion, devised a stratagem, by which the enemy was intirely disappointed. He gave orders for a number of men to go ashore in the night, (which it was easy for them to do, the sea being frozen over,) and to cut down timber in the neighbouring woods, by means of which he made a fort of line of circumvallation round his vessels. To strengthen this fortification, he caused his men to throw a quantity of water upon the timber, which being immediately congealed, rendered the rampart altogether inaccessible. The Danes, however, flattering themselves that they would not find it difficult to surmount this obstacle, brought with them a number of military machines in order to demolish the icy bulwark. Hugo, perceiving their design, gave directions to his men to cut the ice in the night with their hatchets, all round the circumvallation. Early the next morning, the surface of the water was again covered with a thin coat of ice, which prevented the enemy from discovering the

the stratagem. The Danes advanced against them with their heavy machines, known by the name of Catti, thinking to batter down the wooden rampart with their ponderous force. But this only hastened their destruction, for the ice being thin and brittle, immediately sunk under them, and both they and their machines were absorbed by the ocean. This dismal fight, which would have excited compassion in any spectator but an enemy, was beheld with transport by the Rostockers, who testified their joy by loud acclamations. By reiterating this operation, they baffled all the efforts and menaces of the Danes, till spring came on, which being followed by a thaw, they set sail again, and Hugo had the good fortune to bring the ships and cargo safe into the harbour of Stockholm. The various circumstances of this exploit, were represented in a picture in the church of the virgin Mary at Rostock; and though it is now almost defaced and worn away by time, the memory of so illustrious a deed, and of the hero who performed it, will never die; *Dignum laude virum musa vetat mori.*

THE extraordinary zeal with which the city of Rostock had espoused the cause of king Albert, at the same time that it gave great offence to queen Margaret, put her upon contriving some means of being revenged. The best method, she apprehended, would be to weaken its commerce, that great source of opulence, by which the corporations on the Baltic were able to contend with such mighty powers. The instrument she made use of for her purpose, was the duke of Pomerania, whose son she had adopted for her successor. Having been informed that the duke had a very convenient spot for erecting a haven, on the coast of Pomerania, known by the name of Dares, she advised him to build a town there for the accommodation of merchants, who might soon render it a considerable emporium. The duke, in compliance with her advice, caused the mouth of the harbour to be cleansed, and laid the foundations of a new town, which he called Arenshope, surrounding it with walls and ditches. This proceeding gave great umbrage to the citizens of Rostock, who apprehended their

1393.
Quarrel between the duke of Pomerania and the city of Rostock.

commerce would soon be undermined by such an establishment in their neighbourhood. To prevent any ill consequence, they appointed deputies to wait on the duke, requesting him to desist from an enterprize, which they considered as an un-neighbourly act, and an encroachment upon their undoubted rights. The duke paid no regard to their representations, thinking, with just reason, that he had a right to build and make what improvements he pleased on his own territory: upon which the citizens of Rostock assembled a strong body of men, and marching against the new town, destroyed the fortifications, and filled up the harbour. This was an act of extraordinary violence, which, however, the jealousy of commerce undertook to justify by the specious pretence of self-preservation, or, in other words, of self-interest. The duke, though greatly incensed at this behaviour, was obliged, by some affairs of a more pressing nature, to conceal his resentment; and died not long after*.

1394.
Treaty of
Laholm.

IN the mean time, queen Margaret was endeavouring to conciliate the affections of the Swedes, who, as well as the Danes and Norwegians, were unaccustomed to a female government. She had already gained the good will of the clergy by her great liberality, and made use of their influence to weaken and counteract the power of the nobility. As she had succeeded even beyond expectation in her attempt upon Sweden, she began now to think of negotiating with her enemies, in order to create a division among them, and, if possible, to secure the acquisition of that kingdom, by a solid and lasting peace. She had already concluded a treaty of neutrality with the duke of Sleswick, and the counts of Holstein, whose power was lately increased by the extinction of the branch of Ploen. At length, she succeeded so far in her negotiations, as to prevail on the princes of Mecklenburg themselves, and the cities of Rostock and Wismar, to wish for the termination of a war, in which they exhausted their strength to no purpose, without doing any service to king Albert. A peace was as ardently de-

* Crantzius, Chemnitz, Latomus.

fired by the inhabitants of the other Hanse towns, who were considerable sufferers by the fury and barbarity of the Vitalians. After several conferences for this purpose at Falsterbode, and at Scanor, a congress was held at Laholm, where the king and his son were confined. At this congress, the queen herself is said to have assisted in person; as also John, duke of Stargard, and the deputies of the Hanse towns *. Here a treaty was concluded, which secured to Margaret the fruit of all her intrigues and victories. It was agreed, that king Albert, and his son, should be set at liberty, upon condition that, if in the space of three years they could not come to a definitive treaty with the queen, they should surrender themselves prisoners again, or redeem their liberty by ransom; which was to be either the payment of sixty thousand marks in silver, or the surrender of the town and castle of Stockholm, and an absolute renunciation of all right to the crown of Sweden. The duke of Stargard, at the same time, agreed with Margaret to a suspension of arms, for the term of three years, during which the respective parties were to keep possession of the several places then in their hands. In pursuance of this treaty, king Albert, and his son, were delivered up to the deputies of the Hanse towns, who became sureties for the performance of this stipulation on the part of king Albert, and acknowledged, by a formal instrument, the surrender of those illustrious captives. At the same time, they sent a new governor and garrison to the town of Stockholm, which was to remain in their hands as a deposit †.

THIS memorable treaty affords room for remarks, not at all foreign to our history. In the first place, it shews that Margaret was not, at that time, so very powerful in Sweden, as is commonly believed; but that king Albert, besides the capital of Stockholm, must have possessed a considerable part of the kingdom, otherwise that princess would not have been so im-

Remarks on
that treaty.

* The Hanse towns that sent deputies to this congress, were Lubeck, Stralsund, Griefswald, Thorn, Elbing, Dantzick, and Revel.

† Crantz. Latom. Pontan, Puffendorff, Mallet, Buckholtz, Franck.

politic as to part with the whole for sixty thousand marks ; for it seems, according to the agreement, she was to leave him in possession * of the crown of Sweden, upon paying that sum for his ransom. Further, though it was very probable that king Albert, reduced by this treaty to his ancient patrimony of Mecklenburg, would find it difficult, after so long and expensive a war, to raise the sum at which his ransom had been valued, and therefore that the queen would, perhaps, be as great a gainer by this article, as if that prince had formally renounced all his rights to the crown of Sweden ; yet queen Margaret seemed, in her politics on that occasion, to have been deficient : for, instead of reaping a certain advantage from the misfortunes of her enemy, and her own successes, she suffered the issue of the whole negotiation to depend on the probity and good faith of the Hanse towns ; that is, on a power that had so strenuously endeavoured to support her rival, and been ever jealous of the prosperity and grandeur of Denmark. But it must be considered, that on one hand the ravages of the Vitalian pirates were become so intolerable to that crown, as to render a peace absolutely necessary for suppressing their insolence ; for they had lately spread themselves over the northern ocean, plundered the coasts of Norway, and even ransacked Bergen, the most opulent town in the kingdom. On the other hand, the promise, or engagement of the Hanse towns was so solemn, as to leave no room for subterfuge and evasion. For it must be owned, that in those days princes and states had honour enough to observe their treaties ; and it is only of late years, and by a gradual corruption of manners, that the European powers have learnt to elude the most solemn engagements. The event shewed, that the queen was not mistaken in her judgment, and that she left but very little to chance at this important conjuncture.

* This is the opinion of several writers ; but I own it does not appear so clear to me ; all that I can infer from the treaty is, that upon payment of the money, the Hanse towns were discharged, and the king was at liberty to renew the war in Sweden.

WE cannot close this scene of the captivity of king Albert, without taking notice of two extraordinary exceptions to that maxim, which has often been unfortunately verified: small is the distance between the prisons and graves of princes. King Magnus had been detained prisoner seven years by king Albert, and the latter had been kept in confinement during an equal period by queen Margaret. The lust of power was not upon these occasions inflamed by the spirit of cruelty. Neither of those princes was put to death, though in the hands of a rival, but released, at length, upon the faith of public treaty. When we reflect how different the fate of English monarchs has been in this respect, we cannot help being penetrated with a deep and sensible concern: we are shocked at the barbarous treatment of so many princes of the illustrious race of the Plantagenets, Edward II. Richard II. Henry VI. who were inhumanly murdered during their confinement. It is doubtful whether we should ascribe this difference of treatment to a nobler and more generous disposition in the northern princes, or to a deeper sense of religion; or finally, to the rivals not being of the same family and blood; for in civil wars the circumstance of alliance of kin is, by a preposterous depravity of human nature, a new incitement to cruelty, which steels the heart, and renders it less sensible to every tender impression.

THE deputies of the Hanse towns having, in pursuance of the treaty of Laholm, procured the liberty of king Albert and his son Eric, those princes embarked for the coast of Mecklenburg towards the latter end of September. The king arrived safe at Rostock, and prince Eric landed at Wismar. The king was received with great joy by all his old subjects, who had been sensibly afflicted at his long and melancholy captivity. The two dukes, his nephews, who sympathized with him; hastened in his misfortunes, to embrace him with open arms, congratulated him upon his delivery from his long bondage, and seemed as greatly transported as if he had risen from the dead. The good monarch was not a little pleased with these marks of affection in his native country, after having

1395.
King Albert
returns to
Mecklen-
burg.

ing met with such instances of treachery and ingratitude from his Swedish subjects. He was not at all dismayed by his repeated misfortunes, but still entertained hopes of recovering his crown, of which he had been stripped with such circumstances of indignity. But as he had now sufficient leisure to think of proper means of asserting his right, he postponed the consideration of his Swedish affairs for a while, to give his whole attention to those of the duchy of Mecklenburg, where several abuses had crept into the government. He, therefore, resolved to apply due remedies to those grievances, which required an immediate and effectual redress. In this he shewed himself a true father of his people, more ready to rescue them from oppression, than to attend to his own important concerns. The old complaint of the interruption of commerce, from the depredations of the banditti, being revived, he appointed a congress at Perleberg with William, marquis of Meissen, and the elector of Brandenburg, to provide for the security of the public roads. The deputies of the Hanse towns were present at this assembly, in which the most vigorous measures were concerted for repressing the insolence of those robbers.

1396.
Marriage of
prince Eric
of Mecklen-
burg.

King Albert
espouses a
second wife.

THE ensuing year prince Eric, king Albert's only son, was married to princess Sophia, daughter of Bogislaus VI. duke of Pomerania. The king, though advanced in years, began to comfort himself with the thoughts of a second wife, his first consort having ended her days at Stockholm in 1380. The choice he made, was of princess Agnes, daughter of Magnus Torquatus, duke of Brunswick-Luneburg. The double marriage was this year celebrated at Schwerin with great solemnity, in the time of carnival; as if the king intended, by means of these public diversions, to sooth his sorrows, and to banish all thoughts of his late misfortunes.

Disturbances
in the bi-
shopric of
Schwerin.

ABOUT this time a dispute arose between Rudolphus, bishop of Schwerin, and the dean and chapter of that cathedral. The cause of this dispute is not mentioned in history; but the complaints of the chapter against that prelate must have been very heavy to proceed to such extremity, as depriving him of his
tem-

temporalities, and leaving to him no more than a small prebend in Schwerin. This conduct, indeed, was the same as deposing him by their own authority, and gave great offence to all the neighbouring princes. The bishop was brother to the dukes of Mecklenburg-Stargard, who being affronted at the indignity done to their family, resolved to wreak their vengeance on the dean and chapter. Eric, duke of Saxe-Lawenburg, and Albert, count of Holstein, joined in the same cause, which was also espoused by king Albert. A canon belonging to the chapter, who had been the chief instigator of those violences, was arrested by the king's order; and, in all likelihood, would have undergone a very severe punishment, had he not been so fortunate as to escape from his confinement. In the mean while, the dukes of Stargard on the one hand, and count Albert, of Holstein, on the other, made an irruption into the bishopric of Schwerin, and laid waste the possessions belonging to the mutinous canons. In consequence of these hostilities the bishop was restored with éclat, and the offenders were severely punished*.

KING Albert had not been long restored to his liberty, when he was unluckily involved in a dispute with the city of Lubeck, concerning a canal for the conveniency of the salt trade from Luneburg. This canal extended from the town of Mollen to the stream known by the name of Delmenow, which falls into the Elbe. From Lubeck, goods might be transported by the little river Stekenitz to Mollen, and from thence by the new canal into the Delmenow. The conveniency of such a passage was very considerable, as it prevented the expence of land-carriage, and facilitated the conveyance of salt from Lubeck to Hamburg. The dispute had begun so early as 1391, between the magistrates of Lubeck, and the king's nephew, duke John, while the king himself was in confinement. Upon the recovery of his liberty in 1395, the quarrel was revived; the Mecklenburghers insisting, that the inhabitants of Lubeck had dug the canal beyond the boundaries of that city. At any

Dispute between king Albert and the city of Lubeck.

* Crantz. Latom. Chemn. Franck.

other time this dispute might have been attended with bad consequences, but the king thought proper to compromise the affair, out of regard to the attachment and friendship which that city had shewn him during his late misfortunes*.

1397.
King Albert
convenes a
diet, to treat
of his ran-
som.

THE time was now drawing near, when king Albert, in pursuance of the late treaty, which allowed him the space of three years, was to make his option, either to pay the ransom, or to surrender himself once more a prisoner of war. In this dilemma he thought proper to summon a diet of the states of Mecklenburg, in order to take their opinion in his present situation, and to desire their assistance. The states being assembled, he represented to them, in a pathetic speech, the hardships which he and his son had undergone during a long captivity. That for his liberty he was indebted, next to the divine goodness, to his cousin, the gallant duke of Stargard, and to the powerful and vigorous interposition of the Hanse towns. That he should be overjoyed to have an opportunity of making a proper return for such important services, by which he had been restored to his liberty, to his family, and to his country. That the conditions of his releasement were extremely severe, either to pay sixty thousand marks of silver, resign the crown of Sweden, or to surrender himself once more into the hands of his enemies. That his own liberty, as well as that of his son, were very dear to him. To relinquish a kingdom, in which he had so long and gloriously reigned, gave him infinite pain; especially as he was in possession of the city of Stockholm, the key of Sweden, whereby he might always have an opportunity of recovering his crown, of which he had been so unjustly divested. That he was not so far advanced in years, but he felt himself still able to draw his sword in defence of his just rights; and, besides, his son was a young prince who had both courage and abilities to recommence the war, as soon as the truce of three years was expired. But the condition of the ransom, for which the Hanse towns were his security, being indispensable on that occasion, he hoped his good

* Crantz. Chemn. Latom. Beehr, Buckholtz, Franck.

subjects of Mecklenburg would assist him with their purses; and he promised to pay them with thanks for whatever sums they should think proper to advance on so pressing an occasion. The king's discourse made a deep impression on the state, who had a sincere love for their prince, and, of course, were greatly affected with his distresses. They made answer, that they would carefully discharge their duty, and endeavour to shew him every mark of loyalty and attachment. Accordingly, they exerted themselves with the greatest cheerfulness in making a collection *, which, as the country had been exhausted by a long war, fell short of the sum expected. On this occasion, the ladies of Mecklenburg gave an extraordinary instance of their generosity and regard for their sovereign: As the states found it difficult to collect the sum of sixty thousand marks, every woman of condition most freely parted with her jewels and ornaments to raise the remainder of the ransom.

The ladies of Mecklenburg pawn their jewels to pay the king's ransom.

Thus with a greatness of soul, of which history affords but few instances, did these generous heroines give up those ornaments so highly valued by their sex. The example of the Roman matrons, in the second Punic war, seems to have been surpassed on this memorable occasion. The latter contributed their jewels and other effects to save the commonwealth upon an emergency, when the very existence of the Roman government, the lives and the estates of the citizens were in the most imminent danger, when the enemy was almost at their gates, and threatened them with instant destruction. In the case before us, the ladies of Mecklenburg were in no such situation; no devastation, or utter ruin, impended over their heads; no unrelenting tyrant, or barbarous foe, threatened them with chains: the motive which animated them to this magnanimous action, was the love they bore their sovereign; they had been sensibly affected with his long captivity, and rather than suffer him to fall once more into the like scene of distress, they made a generous sacrifice of their most valuable ornaments to his liber-

* It is said, however, that the king was obliged, on this occasion, to dispose of several tracts of land, which were purchased at a cheap rate by the nobility and clergy.

ty, and to the honour of their country. If we lay aside the unjust prepossession in favour of antiquity, and contemplate these two actions with the eye of reason, we must acknowledge, that the ladies of Mecklenburg behaved with a manly generosity, whilst the Roman matrons did nothing more than might be expected from women ; for even the weakest creatures make an effort in case of self-defence, and when compelled by necessity.

So extraordinary an attachment of the Mecklenburg ladies to their beloved lord, furnishes a great presumption in favour of that monarch. For is it possible to imagine, that king Albert could have been such an arbitrary prince as he is represented by the Swedish historians, when the ladies of Mecklenburg gave him such signal testimonies of their affection ? Would they have stripped themselves of their most costly ornaments, their jewels, and glittering diamonds, to redeem a subverter of their liberties, a despotic, a barbarous tyrant ? Surely, this is not to be supposed ; but rather, that a prince so much beloved by one part of his people, must have been possessed of eminent virtues, which the caprice and passions of the other part either overlooked, or hindered them from admiring. King Albert, however, was not unthankful to the ladies for so extraordinary a mark of their benevolence ; he granted that honourable privilege to the fair sex, so well known in the duchy of Mecklenburg by the name of Erbjungfernrecht, or the female right of inheritance. By virtue of this privilege, upon the extinction of the direct male line, the remaining females are intitled to be seised of fiefs during their lives, which in such cases had, till that time, constantly devolved upon the collateral relations.

1397.
King Albert
prepares to
recover his
crown.

WHILST the subjects of Mecklenburg vied with each other in acts of affection and loyalty to their sovereign, king Albert had not lost sight of the recovery of the crown of Sweden. Princes may be divested of their dominions, but can never forfeit their dignity, except when their pusillanimous conduct renders them unworthy of it. King Albert's fortitude was still invincible ; neither length of years, nor reiterated disappointments had impaired his courage ; and though he had met with

the most perfidious treatment in Sweden, he resolved, even at the hazard of his life, to assert his right to that crown once more. He was still master of the capital, whose commodious harbour enabled him to pour in fresh supplies of troops and provisions into the kingdom. But before he could renew hostilities against the Danes, he was under a necessity of paying the ransom of sixty thousand marks, for which the Hanse towns had given security. Being resolved, however, to venture every thing rather than tamely give up his crown, he dispatched his son Eric over to the isle of Gothland, with a strong body of men, chiefly Vitalian brethren, who were to erect a magazine in the island, and to hold themselves in readiness to make a descent upon Sweden. It has been already observed, that king Albert had mortgaged this island to the grand master of the Teutonic order, who had been dispossessed of it by queen Margaret during the captivity of that monarch. Part of it being, however, recovered by the king, was suffered to remain in his possession, by virtue of the treaty of Laholm. Prince Eric landed his men safely in Gothland, and made preparations to dislodge the Danes from the forts which they still possessed in the island. Accordingly, he mustered his forces in the plain of Gronewald, and marched towards Wisby, intending to make himself master of the tower, or pharo, at the entrance of the port which had been seized by the Danes. The enterprize succeeded, and the prince seemed to have a fair prospect of reducing the whole island, when a pestilential disorder breaking out in his camp, he was snatched off in the flower of his youth, and all the hopes of his family were buried with him in the dust. He was interred with great funeral pomp at Wisby, but left no issue by the princess Sophia, who had but a very short enjoyment of so amiable a consort. He died lamented by his country, which admired and revered his virtues, especially his filial piety and duty to his father, under a long and deep scene of affliction. But, above all, his death gave inexpressible concern to the disconsolate king Albert, who, by this cruel stroke of fate, lost the comfort of his old age, and the chief hope of declining Mecklenburg.

In Denmark, however, the intelligence of prince Eric's decease gave uncommon satisfaction. Queen Margaret now flattered herself, that king Albert's only son being out of the way, that prince would desist from any farther attempt to recover his crown, and that she should remain unmolested in the possession of the three kingdoms. The sagacious princess conjectured very right; but as it was not till the year following that king Albert renounced the Swedish crown, it will be proper to take a view of what passed in that kingdom since the late memorable revolution *.

Affairs of
Sweden.

QUEEN Margaret had now attained the summit of her ambition; she saw herself in possession of the three northern crowns, which rendered her the greatest potentate in Europe. Her conduct, at first, was so prudent, that she gained the affection of her new subjects, who, seeing the queen without issue, were impatient to fix the succession, from an apprehension that, after her demise, king Albert, or his son, might revive their claim to the crown. Nothing is so dreadful to those who have once withdrawn their allegiance from a prince, as to become again subject to his power, and to feel the weight of his resentment †. They proposed to her to secure the happiness of the nation by looking out for a partner of her bed and throne; a proposal by no means acceptable to the queen, who was too passionately fond of power herself to share it with a husband. However, to comply with the request of her subjects in such a manner as would not endanger her authority, she condescended to nominate her successor. This was her grand nephew, prince Henry of Pomerania, the son of Wratislaus VII. and of Mary of Mecklenburg, the daughter of Henry of Mecklenburg, and Ingeburga, the queen's elder sister. Henry being then an infant, she considered this as a circumstance that would secure the tranquility of her reign, and prevent him from aspiring to the government in her life-time. The young prince was sent for to be educated at her court, and declared

* Crantzius, Beehr.

† Quia truculentior quam antea tanquam adversus defectores. Tac. ann. 12.

successor,

successor *, by the name of Eric, to the kingdom of Sweden.

THE queen's study now was to acquire popularity among her new subjects: the Swedes had conferred the highest obligation upon their royal mistress; and she said, they should not find her ungrateful. The crown lands, which king Albert had granted to foreigners, were all resumed; strangers were turned out of their posts and employments; several forts, which the king was said to have built, in order to curb the nobles, were razed; and other steps taken, in conjunction with the senate and diet, to redress grievances, and to endear her to the nation. At the same time she did not neglect her own interest; for she prevailed on the diet to settle upon her West and East-Gothland, with the provinces of Wermland, Westerland, and Dalecarlia, for the support of her dignity: a far more generous support than had been allowed to king Albert; but the Swedes thought nothing too much for their supposed deliverer, and the restorer of their liberties.

THAT ambitious princess had formed a grand project of perpetuating the union of the three northern crowns, under one monarch. This was her darling passion, from which she expected lasting tranquility to her reign, and immortal glory to her memory. In order to accomplish so great a design, she had used every artifice that politics can suggest: her agents were employed in recommending the utility of the scheme, and she spared no pains herself in securing the interest of the principal nobility of each nation. Such a project was attended with great difficulties; for what could be more arduous, than to attempt to unite, under one head, three nations that differed so widely in their language, laws, and customs? However, she had the good fortune to succeed in this enterprize. As soon as she found things ripe for execution, she convened an assembly of the states of the three kingdoms at Calmar, to determine upon the utility and expediency of that measure. The queen opened the congress in person, by introducing the young prince Eric

^{1397.}
Union of
Calmar.

* Some writers pretend, that Eric was crowned king, and Margaret only appointed regent; but this is not at all probable, nor consistent with her ambition.

to the assembly, which she requested to confirm his election to the succession. She observed to them, that as the royal race was extinct in the three kingdoms, it was a favourable opportunity of forming the several nations into one state, to prevent all differences and animosities that might hereafter arise between them. Then she displayed, with great eloquence, the advantages they might expect from this union, and the conveniences of being subject to the same sovereign. They had themselves, she said, experienced the good effects of her election, which had restored peace and unanimity to the three kingdoms, and removed all those jealousies, by which neighbouring nations are generally divided. They had now a fair prospect of recovering the whole trade of the Baltic from the Hanse towns, those petty republics, which had enriched themselves so greatly by the divisions between Sweden and Denmark; and the only method of securing these advantages, and transmitting them to their posterity, was to establish the union of the three kingdoms by a solemn and fundamental law. These arguments were so plausible, and enforced with such elocution, that they produced conviction in the minds of all present. They approved and confirmed the election of young Eric; and passed a fundamental law, whereby that prince, and his successors, were to reign over the three kingdoms, which were thus to be inseparably united.

THIS was the union of Calmar, that law so celebrated in the North, received by the three nations, and confirmed by the most solemn oaths; a law, by which the glory of the northern Semiramis was exalted to the skies, and which will not fail to perpetuate her memory. It consisted of three principal articles, seemingly calculated for securing the liberty and independence of each nation. By the first it was enacted, that the three northern crowns, whose constitution was elective, should be subject for the future to one king, alternately chosen in each of the three kingdoms; and that the royal dignity should not be appropriated to any one nation to the prejudice, or exclusion of the other; but if the deceased prince left male heirs

heirs capable of governing, such male heirs should be preferred to strangers. The second ordained, that the sovereign should make the three kingdoms equally enjoy the honour of his presence, residing four months of the year in each, or, at least, one year out of three, spending in each its revenues, without applying the overplus to any other uses than the advantage and interest of that nation. By the third, and most important, it was settled, that each kingdom should preserve its own senate, laws, and customs; that its magistrates, governors, bishops, and soldiers, should be natives of the country; and that the subjects of one kingdom should enjoy no preferment in the other, but be reputed as aliens. The Swedes seemed to be highly pleased with this treaty, fondly imagining, that the royal prerogative was now sufficiently limited, and that the sovereign could no longer make any encroachment upon their liberties.

WHILE these things were transacting in Sweden, the Teutonic order, by the connivance of king Albert, had once more invaded the isle of Gothland, and driven away from thence the Vitalian brethren, who infested those seas with their piratical depredations. Their pretext for this step was, that the island had been mortgaged to them by king Albert; and since his son was no more, they apprehended he would concern himself no longer about the Swedish monarchy. The king had not yet declared his intentions, but seemed rather disposed, at least by his outward preparations, to recover his crown. In order, therefore, to procure the money required for his ransom, he resolved to set out for Prussia, and treat with the grand master concerning the absolute sale of the island: with this view he embarked for that country, with some of the magistrates of Rostock and Wismar, persons skilled in civil agreement, and naval concerns. There he found Conrad Jungingen, the grand master of the order, with whom he entered into a conference for settling the terms of the contract. The grand master would hear of no terms, but declared, that the order had justly seized upon the island, for the money it had advanced upon the mortgage, and for the pains and expence it had been at in dispossessing the Vitalian pirates.

Transactions
in the isle of
Gothland.

pirates. As nothing could be concluded in those conferences, the king returned again to Mecklenburg greatly provoked, and vowing vengeance for this treatment. The knights being informed of his resolution to attack the island, altered their conduct, and sent a deputation to Wismar to treat with the king concerning this important matter; and, at length, upon paying a certain sum of money, Albert resigned all his claims to the island of Gothland, in favour of the Teutonic order.

1398.

QUEEN Margaret having received advice of this transaction, was greatly incensed against the contracting parties, and resolved to attempt the recovery of the island. For this purpose she fitted out a strong squadron, with a body of land forces, which laid siege to Wisby. But this important fortress was so well provided, as to make a long and vigorous resistance. The parties then agreed to submit to the arbitration of the emperor Wenceslaus; by which it was determined, that the queen should redeem the island of Gothland for the sum of nine thousand nobles.

Suppression
of the Vita-
lian pirates.

By the loss of the isle of Gothland, the Vitalian pirates were deprived of their best asylum, but did not lose their passion for rapine and plunder. Having been long accustomed to a licentious life, they turned their arms against those very Hanse towns, in whose cause they had originally enlisted. Thus animated by fury and despair, they scoured the Baltic with their numerous frigates, which put almost an entire stop to trade and navigation. In vain were menaces and persuasions of every kind employed by the Hanse towns, to induce them to desist from such lawless proceedings; it was found, at length, that force must be opposed by force: for it is easier to subdue an enemy, than to prevail upon him to subdue his vicious and inveterate habits. In consequence of these violences, the cities of Lubeck, Dantzick, Thorn, Elbing, Rostock, and Wismar, resolved to exert themselves to the utmost in suppressing those corsairs, whose strength and numbers were daily increasing. Queen Margaret was equally desirous of seeing an end of those depredations, by which the commerce of her subjects was so greatly

greatly interrupted. The Hanse towns having proposed to conclude an alliance with that princess for extirpating the Vitalians, she entered into their views; and the deputies of Rostock and Wismar had a conference, for that purpose, with the queen's ministers at Nikoping, in the isle of Falster. Here it was agreed, that the commercial privileges granted to the Hanse towns throughout the three kingdoms should be confirmed; and that the queen and they should engage to act jointly against the Vitalian corsairs, for the security and protection of commerce. In consequence of this resolution numerous fleets were fitted out, too powerful for those pirates to cope with; so that from that time they retired to the northern ocean, from whence it was not so easy to chase them, as out of the Baltic.

BUT the period being now arrived for king Albert's determination, with regard to the articles of the treaty of Laholm, the seven Hanse towns, which had been sureties for this illustrious captive, sent their deputy, Bertram Wulfflam, burgomaster of Stralsund, to know which of the three conditions his majesty would prefer; whether to pay the money, resign the kingdom, or surrender himself prisoner. Of these conditions, even the mildest was very severe to a prince, whose notions were directed rather by his past prosperity, than by his present decline. The money was ready for the ransom; but on the other hand, he reflected that his beloved son, prince Eric, was no more; that he himself was advanced in years; that, moreover, he could not depend on the fidelity of the Swedes: all these considerations, contrary to expectation, induced him to resign the crown in a most solemn manner. In consequence of which, he sent orders to Steno Stur, commander of the castle of Faxholm, as also to the governor of Stockholm, and the commandants of the castles of Crytzberg and Norrebota, which still held out for him, to surrender to queen Margaret. This resignation, at a time when he had sufficient means to assert his right to the crown, by the strong holds he still possessed in Sweden, is generally imputed to the change made in his disposition of mind by the death

1398.
King Albert
resigns the
crown of
Sweden.

of his son Eric: for he could not think it an object, at that time of life, worth his attention, to expose himself again to so many difficulties and dangers, in pursuit of a dignity which must end with himself; he, therefore, left the Swedes to their own fate, and to the consequences of a revolution, into which they had so precipitantly hurried. This revolution by no means procured the Swedes that happiness, with the hopes of which they had vainly flattered themselves; they soon became sensible of their error; but they had forged their own chains by betraying their sovereign, and bestowing his crown on their natural enemy.

Queen Margaret's conduct in Sweden.

THE celebrated union of Calmar, instead of establishing harmony and concord between Denmark and Sweden, was the fatal source of the many wars which laid waste the two kingdoms upwards of a hundred years. Queen Margaret was not long settled on the Swedish throne, when she broke through that fundamental treaty, by shewing her predilection for Denmark, her native country, and making it her usual place of residence. Instead of paying a due respect to the laws, she governed intirely by her own will, and in a more arbitrary manner than any of her predecessors: her ambition, her spirit was too great, to submit to the shackles of a limited monarchy. She loaded the Swedes with taxes, which were remitted to Denmark, to enrich her native country, and ruin and impoverish her new subjects. At the same time, she had taken proper precautions to prevent any disturbances, or opposition to her measures, in a nation ever ready to revolt upon the least disgust. The Swedes had been greatly disgusted with a speech of hers to the young king Eric, in which she observed to him, "that Sweden would furnish him with food, Norway with raiment, but that Denmark was the country which would stand by him in all extremities." But she had secured all the principal forts of the kingdom in her own hands, by various artifices, and chiefly by bribing and corrupting the nobility. Most of the vacant governments she conferred on Danish lords, and gradually deprived the Swedish nobles of all the considerable places of honour and profit. They remonstrated, and laid before her a
copy

copy of their Magna Charta, the treaty of Calmar, and the titles by which they held their privileges; the queen, with a contemptuous sneer, replied, "that she would advise them to preserve their charters and titles as carefully as she intended to secure the forts of the kingdom." As a farther support of her authority, she kept the Swedish nobles at a distance from affairs of government. But she chiefly made it her business to confirm the clergy in her interest by her excessive liberality, by augmenting their power, and admitting them to a share in the management of public affairs. The bishops, being highly distinguished, thought it conducive to their own interest, and to the preservation of their grandeur, to pay an implicit submission to the court; the inferior clergy followed their example, and preached up the doctrine of passive obedience among the people. The nobles repined, in secret, to see this diminution of their authority; but their grief and indignation were confined within their own breasts, and their resentment was impotent; they were obliged tamely to submit, during the life of the queen, to the yoke which she had laid upon them, or to which, more properly speaking, they had subjected themselves. That wise and powerful princess kept private spies among the disaffected party; by whom she was apprized of all their cabals, and consultations, which enabled her to baffle the measures they concerted to oppose her arbitrary proceedings. Thus was it decreed by providence, that a revolution, from which they had entertained the most sanguine hopes of securing their freedom, was to reduce them to a cruel bondage under Danish tyranny, and involve them in a scene of bloodshed and intestine war, which lasted, with unabating fury, almost a whole century; and from which distracted state they were not able to emerge, till the æra of their glorious and immortal hero, Gustavus Vasa*.

KING Albert being now freed from royal cares, was confined within a narrower sphere, the administration of his hereditary dominions, in which, if he had not so spacious a field for glory,

King Albert's
administration in Meck-
lenburg.

* Crantz. Latom. Puffendorff, Buckholtz, Franck, Beehr.

or rather for military atchievements, he had, at least, a more pleasing prospect at his decline of life, of private happiness, founded in the duty and sincere affection of his loyal subjects of Mecklenburg. He still retained the regal title*, and passed the remainder of his days without much bustle or disturbance, in his patrimonial territory. During this period, his attention and care were directed to the welfare of his subjects, and to the encouragement of unanimity and concord among the neighbouring princes. He could not, however, prevent the quarrel between his cousins of Stargard, and the marquis of Brandenburg; the particulars of which the reader will find in the sequel of this history.

1400.

THIS year is memorable for as extraordinary a revolution in Germany, as that which lately proved so fatal to Sweden. This was the deposition of the emperor Wenceslaus. That weak prince had incurred the displeasure of some of the states of the empire, by selling the royalty of several cities and territories in Italy, which they considered as alienating the Imperial demesnes. But this was what his father Charles IV. had frequently done in Germany; and though it weakened the Imperial prerogative, it contributed to strengthen the liberties of the empire. The electors, however, assembling at the castle of Lanstein upon the Rhine, deposed Wenceslaus, as unworthy of reigning, and elected Frederick, duke of Brunswick and Luneburg. Nothing could be more unjust and irregular than this whole proceeding. But it was owing to the artifices of pope Boniface IX. whom Wenceslaus wanted to depose, in order to restore the peace of the church, at the time of the great schism. The pope, in revenge, by his intrigues prevailed upon the three ecclesiastical electors, and the elector Palatine, to dethrone the emperor. The motives they assigned, for this arbitrary step, were frivolous and puerile, namely, that he had alienated the Imperial demesnes; that he had given blank patents, signed with his name,

* That he was allowed to retain the regal title, appears plainly from an instrument of the town of Grevesmuhlen, in 1398, where he is stiled king of Sweden and the Goths. Westphal. Diplom. Mecklenburg.

to his ministers, who had made a bad use of them; that he led a life unworthy of a prince, suffering dogs to lie in his apartment; and that he took no care to extinguish the schism. The electors of Saxony and Brandenburg would not consent to this extraordinary measure; so that Wenceslaus was still acknowledged emperor by several princes, till he renounced that dignity himself in 1410. Duke Frederick having been assassinated before his coronation, Robert, count Palatine, was chosen in his stead, and crowned at Cologne in 1401*.

THIS same year, a large comet blazed during a whole month, in the time of Lent, and filled all Europe with the greatest consternation. This phenomenon, (according to Crantzius, the historian) portended heavy calamities, which afterwards came to pass; such as wars, pestilential disorders, and famine. But these are scourges which Providence, for wise purposes, is pleased in all ages to inflict on the human race, and are observed to happen frequently without being predicted by comets.

1401.

KING Albert soon after had a very singular occasion to shew his clemency, by interceding with the city of Wismar, in behalf of a gentleman of Mecklenburg, named John Goer, whom the magistrates of that city had condemned to be hanged. His crime was, that he had prevailed on a citizen's wife, named Alheyde, to elope from her husband, John Schlep, and lived with her afterwards in open adultery. The woman had carried off with her a great part of her husband's effects, as jewels, rings, and other trinkets, which were found upon them both, when apprehended by the officers of justice. The gentleman was thereupon tried, and convicted of a robbery; and, notwithstanding all the menaces and intreaties used by king Albert, the magistrates were so inflexible, that they would not commute the sentence, which was attended with eternal infamy to the family, or deliver up the prisoner to be tried by his sovereign, according to the laws of Lubeck and Schwerin, by which they were governed. A striking instance of the austere manners

1403.
Instance of
strict justice
at Wismar.

* Barre, Heisse, Puffendorff, Pfeffel.

of the times, of the insolence of those magistrates, and of the weakness of the king's interest since his fall from regal grandeur.

1404.
A woman
burnt for he-
resy at Ros-
tock.

THIS event was soon followed by another of a more melancholy nature, the execution of a poor woman at Rostock, for railing against some tenets of the Romish religion. In the beginning, the clergy seemed to take but little notice of her peculiarity of opinion, and treated her as a weak woman, who loved to prate about what she did not understand; but finding that the same opinions were spreading in Wismar and Stralsund, they began to be alarmed, and resolved to put a stop to her invectives. Accordingly, she was brought before an ecclesiastical court, examined, and, upon refusing to recant, was condemned to the flames. The good woman had a son, a Cistercian monk, who exerted his utmost endeavours to induce his mother to retract her opinion; and the like pains were taken by the inquisitor Eylhard, of Rostock. When all attempts of staggering her belief had proved fruitless, she was delivered over to the secular arm, the clergy not chusing, from their great lenity, to concern themselves in blood. As they were leading her to the stake, her son accosted her, and, in the warmest expressions, exhorted her to retract her errors. Upon which, turning towards him with an eye of indignation, "Be gone, said she, thou most wicked of mortals, thou canst not be my son whom I have carried in my womb, and whom I have suckled with these breasts; but thou art a false pretender to my family and blood." Upon which, addressing herself to the executioners, "Do your office, said she, I have acted in obedience to my Creator; now I shall die contented and happy, in spite of the devil, and this wicked world." The son retired quite confounded, and the mother expired under the most exquisite tortures.

1405.
Treaty be-
tween king
Albert and
queen Mar-
garet.

THE ensuing year, a treaty of alliance was concluded between king Albert and his successful rival, Margaret, queen of Denmark. The king, being now advanced in years, and sensible of the approach of his latter end, was desirous of leaving

leaving his son in the quiet possession of his dominions. In order, therefore, to secure a support and ally to the young prince in his minority, he signed a treaty on St. Catharine's day, the twenty-fifth of November, with Margaret, the northern queen; by which he again renounced the crowns of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, and promised not to molest her successor, king Eric, in the possession of those dominions. In consequence hereof, a lasting friendship was established between the northern crowns and the country of Mecklenburg. The articles of this treaty may be seen in Pontanus, where the witnesses, in behalf of the king, are Otho Vieregge, Vicke Below, Matthias Arkow, Henry Quitzow, with the burgomaster of Rostock, John Von der Aa, and the burgomaster of Wismar, Herman Meyer. So pleased was queen Margaret with this treaty, that she gave three hundred marks of silver to princess Ingeburga, abbess of Ribnitz, and some landed estates to the monastery*.

KING Albert, desirous of being at peace with all the world, came to an agreement this year with Detlevus of Parckenthien, bishop of Ratzeburg, with regard to the right of patronage over the parish churches of Wismar. The bishops of that city had long before obtained the patronage of St. Mary, at Wismar; and that of St. Nicholas had been granted them by Henry the Lion. But not contented with these privileges, they had formed other pretensions, which had been hitherto opposed by the dukes of Mecklenburg. But king Albert being inclined to settle this dispute, resigned the patronage of St. George; in consequence of which, the three principal churches of that city were rendered dependent on the bishop. This concession to the church, was followed by a temporal grant to a nobleman, John Gans of Putlifs, whom the king favoured with the investiture of the district of Putlifs†.

ABOUT this time, great disturbances arose in Wismar and Rostock, where the common people displaced their old magis-

1409.
King Al-
bert's agree-
ment with
the bishop of
Ratzeburg.

Disturbances
in Wismar
and Ros-
tock.

* Crantzius, Beehr, Latomus, Franck.

† Chemnitz, Latomus, Franck.

trates,

trates, and substituted others in their stead. It seemed, indeed, as if the spirit of tumult and sedition had infected the whole coast of the Baltic. Lubeck was the first city that set so bad an example, in 1408; which was soon followed by the inhabitants of Rostock. The burghers chose sixty persons, on whom they conferred a power of inquiring into the conduct of the senate, and of obliging them to give an account of their past administration. The senate refusing to comply with this innovation, were expelled; and the seditious commonalty appointed a new body of magistrates to succeed them. The ensuing year, the contagion reached the city of Wismar, where the burghers carried their insolence to a much greater excess; for the young dukes of Mecklenburg, the son and nephew of king Albert, having thought proper to visit that town, in order to restore the deposed magistrates, the rioters assembled in a tumultuous manner, and proceeded to such violences as intimidated the princes, and obliged them to retire with their whole retinue. The populace has been justly compared to a wild beast, naturally fierce and untractable; a many-headed monster, incapable of being worked on by reason, or appeased by remonstrances. So undiscerning are they, that they take appearances for realities. They are ever in extremes, either elated beyond measure, or sunk into despondency; they either audaciously oppose all lawful authority, or carry their servile submission to a degree of idolatrous attachment. Thus, in the time of the Roman emperors, they one day offered incense before the statues of Sejanus; the next day broke them to pieces, and dragged his mangled body to the Tiber. Such was the behaviour of the populace of Rostock to their princes and magistrates. The senate continued in exile eight years; but the city of Lubeck being compelled, at length, by an Imperial edict, to receive its former magistrates, the inhabitants of Rostock and Wismar thought proper, also, to submit. The dukes, in person, reinstated the ancient senate in their office, in the year 1416, and fined the seditious burghers in a considerable sum of money.

THE ensuing year died the emperor Robert, surnamed the Short, on account of his stature. This prince had made it his chief study to remedy the disorders of the empire, and to recover the dominions and rights which had been alienated by former sovereigns. He undertook an expedition into Italy, but was repulsed by John Galeazzo, duke of Milan, and obliged to return to Germany. The remainder of his reign he employed in aggrandizing his own electorate. In his reign was completed the sovereignty of the princes of Germany. The emperors having reserved to themselves the power of trying causes upon life and death in several districts; Robert resigned this jurisdiction to the respective princes, or lords, by particular privileges. His dominions he divided among his four sons, who are the stems of the different branches of the Palatine family. After his decease, Josse, or Jodocus, margrave of Moravia, was chosen emperor by part of the electors, assembled at Frankfort; while another part gave their votes to Sigismund, king of Hungary, and elector of Brandenburg. Happily for Germany, the schism was not of any long continuance; for Josse died three days after his election; and Sigismund, son to the emperor Charles IV. was unanimously acknowledged by the electoral college *.

1410.
Affairs of the
empire.

THIS year death put an end to the differences of Margaret, the Semiramis of the North, and Albert, king of Sweden, by removing them where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest. The emulations, discords, and animosities, which embroiled them so many years, at length were over; and though constantly at variance during their lives, in their deaths they were not divided. Margaret died suddenly on board a ship, just as she was setting out from Flensburg, on her return to Denmark, Nov. the twenty-seventh, 1411. She was fifty-eight years of age, had borne the title of queen about fifty, and exercised the sovereign authority near thirty-seven. During so long a reign, she scarce met with a reverse of fortune. Such a series of prosperity could not be the work of chance, but must have been owing to her extraordinary genius: and,

Death and
character of
queen Mar-
garet.

* Beehr, Franck. Puffendorff, Barre, Pfeffel.

indeed, it is acknowledged on all hands, that she never found herself mistaken in any of the measures she had concerted. The generality of historians allow her to have possessed an uncommon elevation of mind; but they differ much with regard to the use she made of her abilities. The Danes affirm, that she conciliated the affection of her subjects, whom she governed by the principles of equity and moderation. The Swedes, on the other hand, represent her as pious only from policy, moderate through interest, affable only with her creatures, and regardless of oaths and treaties, when placed in competition with her interest and ambition. It seems highly probable, that both these characters have been, in a great measure, dictated by prejudice and prepossession. After the abdication of king Albert, her conduct towards the Swedes was so harsh and severe, that it is very likely, had she lived a little longer, they would have thrown off the Danish yoke, and effected another revolution*.

Death of
king Albert.

His charac-
ter.

THE death of the above princess was soon followed by that of king Albert, who departed this life in the month of April, 1412, at the town of Gadebusch, after he had held the government of Mecklenburg seventeen years since his abdication of the crown of Sweden. He was buried in Gadebusch, as appears from the monument in the king's chapel, towards the north side of the church. The memory of this prince will be ever dear to the inhabitants of Mecklenburg. His person was manly, his countenance engaging, his presence majestic, his deportment becoming a great monarch. He was good-natured in a very high degree, and his temper susceptible of sentiments of friendship. His virtues were such as adorned the throne, and would have rendered any other nation happy: Magnanimity without pride, generosity without profuseness, justice without severity, clemency without relaxation of government, were all eminently conspicuous in this illustrious personage. In private life he set an example to his subjects, of the dutiful son, the tender husband, and the indulgent parent. But his moderation in prosperity, and un-

* Pontan, Mallet, Puffendorff.

shaken constancy under a long series of calamities, proclaim him to have been both the philosopher and the hero. His misfortunes seem to have been chiefly owing to a very pardonable weakness, his predilection for his countrymen; this gave rise to the jealousy of the Swedes, and this proved the source of those disturbances which ended in the loss of his crown. The fate of so good a prince furnishes this lesson to sovereigns, who are called to the government of foreign nations, that the affection of their subjects is the only pledge of the stability of their empire.

His abdication, though at first involuntary, and extorted by the inconstancy and treachery of his Swedish subjects, was, upon the death of his son Eric, as much approved by him, as if it had been dictated by reason, and the result of deliberate choice. For though his son Albert was born that year, and he was himself married to a young wife, and, of consequence, likely to have more issue, yet when he came to reflect coolly upon the situation of his affairs, he was fully persuaded, that the Swedish crown was not an object any longer worth contending for. He saw it was too great a sacrifice, to risk the quiet and repose of his life for the recovery of an elective monarchy, which, upon his decease, might be transferred to another family. His long experience had given him a disrelish to a station, where he must ever be upon his guard against the tumults and riots of a refractory, stiff-necked people. It had operated in him a full conviction, that the regal dignity, an object of envy and admiration to the ignorant vulgar, has nothing to render it desirable, but the power of doing good, which the faction and cabals of an insolent aristocracy would ever render it impossible for him to exercise in Sweden. He, therefore, resolved to spend the remainder of his days among his faithful subjects of Mecklenburg, to prepare himself for his latter end, and calmly to contemplate, as it were, from a sea-shore, the dangers to which those are exposed, who are agitated by the storms of life, for want of having prudently secured a safe and commodious harbour.

He was twice married, first, to Richardis, daughter of Otho, count of Schwerin, by whom he acquired that fine principality in his father's life-time. She was also called Rixa, which signifies the same as Richardis. By this princess he had one son, Eric I. and one daughter Richardis. His son Eric, as we have already observed, married Sophia, daughter of Bolelaus, duke of Pomerania, in 1397, and died that same year in the isle of Gothland, without issue. King Albert's daughter Richardis, was married to John, margrave of Brandenburg and lord of Gorlitz, brother of king Sigismund, to whom his father had bequeathed Lusatia; but he dying without issue, his country devolved to the kingdom of Bohemia.

His issue.

His second wife was Agnes, daughter of Magnus Torquatus, duke of Brunswick, by whom he had a son, named Albert V. born in 1397, who succeeded his father in conjunction with his cousin John VII*.

* Crantz. Rixner, Chemnitz, Latom. Beehr, Franck.

C H A P. IX.

J O H N VII. and
A L B E R T V.

D U K E S of M E C K L E N B U R G.

From 1412 to 1423.

E M P E R O R of G E R M A N Y,
S I G I S M U N D - - - - 1410.

K I N G S of E N G L A N D,
H E N R Y IV. - - - 1399.
H E N R Y V. - - - 1413.
H E N R Y VI. - - - 1422.

King Albert succeeded by his son and nephew. Partition of their dominions. The young dukes repair to the council of Constance. Their dominions invaded in their absence. Alliance betwixt the elector of Brandenburg and the princes of Werle, against the dukes of Mecklenburg and Stargard. Foundation of the university of Rostock. Duke John quarrels with the clergy. War of the Hussites. War between Eric, king of Denmark, and the counts of Holstein. War between the dukes of Stargard and the elector of Brandenburg. Duke Albert assists the dukes of Stargard. Duke Albert marries the elector of Brandenburg's daughter. Death of duke John and duke Albert.

THE death of no prince was ever more sincerely lamented than that of king Albert, by his affectionate, and now disconsolate subjects of Mecklenburg. The remembrance of his former grandeur, of his moderation in prosperity, and of the constancy with which he had borne up against all his adversities, had left so deep an impression on their minds, as could not be easily erased. The glory of their country had been raised

to

1412:
King Albert
is succeeded
by his son
and nephew.

to a very high pitch by his valour ; and even when abandoned by fortune, and stripped of his crown, he had preserved a dignity and authority which rendered him still respected amongst all the neighbouring powers. He was justly entitled to that glorious epithet of the Father of his Country ; and his loss was the more severely felt by his Germanic subjects, as his partial attachment to them had been the cause of his being dispossessed of a powerful kingdom. This circumstance revived all their tender ideas, and caused every individual of the community to regret the general loss, as if it had been that of his dearest relation.

He was succeeded in the government of Mecklenburg by his son Albert V. and John VII. son of his brother Magnus. John had been a considerable time co-regent, and was entrusted with the guardianship of Albert V. during that prince's minority. One of the first acts of his administration, was the concluding of a ten years treaty with Bernard, duke of Brunswick-Luneburg, Eric and John, dukes of Saxe-Lawenburg, and Henry, count of Holstein, for maintaining the security of the public roads against the incursions of the banditti. The frequent treaties concluded in those days against the common enemies of society, are a very strong proof of the weakness of government. As soon as duke Albert came to age, he entered into a treaty of partition with his cousin, duke John, in consequence of which the country of Mecklenburg was divided between them ; but the cities of Rostock and Wismar remained under their joint jurisdiction.

Partition of
their domi-
nions.

1414.
The young
dukes repair
to the coun-
cil of Con-
stance.

THE two dukes shewed their great zeal for religion at this important crisis, when the western church was rent by a schism, for the suppressing of which a council had been convened at Constance by the emperor Sigismund and pope John XXIII. The latter was one of the three pretenders to the pontificate, the other two assumed the names of Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII. To determine this contest, which had lasted some years, was the chief intention of the council. The proceedings of this assembly are famous in history : the authority of

a general council was declared to be superior to that of the pope. The three pretenders to the pontificate were set aside, and a fourth was chosen, named Martin V. At this assembly, upwards of two hundred and fifty prelates, and a great number of princes and powerful lords are said to have assisted. Among the rest who appeared at the council, were our two dukes, in compliance with the emperor's invitation. The princes on those occasions were not permitted to have a share in the debates; yet the clergy were desirous of their presence, in order to obtain greater weight and authority among the vulgar.

ANOTHER motive for convoking this assembly, was to inquire into the doctrines of John Hufs, and Jerome of Prague. Towards the latter end of the preceding century, the celebrated Dr. Wickliff had ventured to fix his eyes upon that ecclesiastical authority, which held the whole world enchained. He had investigated and attacked its foundations; and, in consequence of his researches, had broached several new doctrines concerning the primacy of the see of Rome, indulgences, and communion under one kind, which were nearly the same with those propagated by the reformers in the sixteenth century. A considerable number of malecontents had eagerly adopted these new opinions, which were suppressed in England by the authority of the clergy: but they were carried over to Bohemia by some youth of that nation, who studied at Oxford, and met with a powerful advocate in a priest, as much revered on account of the purity of his manners as his learning. This was the famous John Hufs, whom his merit had placed at the head of the university of Prague, and who supported this new system by the credit of his dignity. That churchman was joined by Jerome of Prague, whose eloquence seemed to be admirably calculated to give the new sect importance. Both had offered to repair to Constance, in order to deliver an account of their faith, and explain the motives of their reformation; in consequence of which, the emperor and the council had granted them a safe-conduct. But scarce were they arrived, when the fathers

Barbarous
execution of
John Hufs
and Jerome
of Prague.

fathers declared that they were not obliged to keep their word with heretics : upon the strength of this principle, they spoke to them only of tortures, and loaded them with chains. In vain did John Hufs, and his friend, attest the most sacred and solemn oaths ; no other alternative was left to these unfortunate men, but either to betray the sentiments of their hearts by their words, or to perish in the flames. Jerome's resolution being shaken by these threats, he subscribed the decisions of the council. The undaunted John Hufs chose the flames, and the perjured emperor caused him to be dragged to the stake. But Jerome soon reproached himself with his cowardice. The blood of his friend, which was ever present to imagination, reviving his courage, he declared his sentiments more resolutely than ever. Being taken, dragged to the council, and cited a second time before that dreadful tribunal, he there spoke only to reproach the prelates with their errors, their vices, their avarice, and pride. He painted, in the most shocking colours, the indignity of violating the faith given in the name of the priesthood and the empire ; he lamented the weakness he had shewn in not mixing his ashes with those of his friend ; he declared that he was eager to expiate that crime in tortures, which he implored as a favour. Being condemned by the whole synod, he walked to the stake with serenity and joy painted on his countenance, and suffered himself to be burned alive, without discovering the least symptom of pain*.

BUT the young dukes of Mecklenburg did not stay long enough to be spectators of this tragedy. And, perhaps, it would have been more conducive to their interest, had they remained at home ; and, instead of concerning themselves with the debates of churchmen, attended carefully to the safety and protection of their own dominions. For the princes of Werle, Balthazar and Christopher, had entered, by this time, into an alliance with Frederick, burgrave of Nuremberg, then stadtholder of Brandenburg, and seized the opportunity of the absence of those young princes, to invade their dominions. Such were the

* Beehr, Franck, Barre, Pfeffel, Lenfant.

effects which the injudicious zeal of princes frequently produced. The people whom Providence had committed to their care, were neglected, and left a prey to the first invader*.

THE beginning of these disturbances was owing to a resolution, which the burgrave Frederick had formed to prevent the outrages committed in the public roads, by the encouragement of the nobility on the frontiers of Brandenburg and Mecklenburg. Among these, the most famous for power and opulence, were two brothers, John and Theodore, of the family of Quitzow. In order to put a stop to these violences, Frederick concluded an alliance with Gunther, archbishop of Magdeburg, and another with the princes of Werle, which was signed the sixth of February, 1414. But the princes of Werle had their private view in this treaty with Brandenburg, of a very different nature from the laudable motive of suppressing the banditti. They had long entertained a jealousy of the power of the elder branch of the family, and now formed a design of usurping a part of the ducal dominions. Prince Balthazar of Werle, who had always been at variance with both the ducal lines, carried his resentment so far, that, in order to spite them the more, he meanly submitted to be a vassal to Brandenburg. Besides, both these princes had a private grudge against Ulric, duke of Stargard, for granting a temporary possession of Sternberg to the city of Lubeck, which had proved of great prejudice to the principality of Werle.

1414.
War with the
princes of
Werle.

STRENGTHENED with these alliances, the burgrave Frederick attacked the castle of Plawe, on the frontiers of Brandenburg, but belonging to the dukes of Mecklenburg. The castle was obliged to surrender, and John Quitzow was taken prisoner. The burgrave then laid siege to the castle of Frisac, where Theodore of Quitzow resided; the garrison was under a necessity of capitulating, but Theodore had the good fortune to make his escape. Thus were the two brothers deprived of their strong holds; and Theodore Quitzow,

* Crantzius, Chemnitz, Latomus, Marshal, Beehr, Franck, L'Enfant.

with two other powerful noblemen, Wipertus a Rockow, and Ganz Putlitz, were banished.

THE news of these commotions soon reached the ears of the young dukes at Constance, and obliged them to quit that assembly, and fly to the defence of their dominions. No sooner were they arrived in Mecklenburg, than they entered into an alliance with Otho and Casimir, dukes of Pomerania, and Ulric and John, dukes of Stargard, for the mutual defence of their respective territories. Rudolph, bishop of Schwerin, joined also with the young dukes in this war, which on both sides was carried on with great animosity. Many battles were fought with alternate success, and acts of the most extraordinary barbarity were committed by the victors. Balthazar, prince of Werle, having taken Henry of Moltke, a very rich nobleman, prisoner, put him to the torture, in order to oblige him to pay an exorbitant ransom; but, to the eternal reproach of Balthazar, the unfortunate nobleman expired under the severity of the torment. This act of cruelty exasperated the minds of the other party, and produced some retaliations. At length, the dukes of Stargard had the good fortune to get Christopher, prince of Werle, into their hands, and confined him a close prisoner. In the mean while, the burgrave Frederick repaired to the council of Constance, where the emperor Sigismund sold him the electorate of Brandenburg for four hundred thousand ducats. Balthazar, prince of Werle, finding himself in danger of being overpowered by the confederates, had recourse to his ally, the new elector Frederick, by whose mediation a peace, at length, was concluded at Prentzlau, in 1416. The dukes of Mecklenburg, and the elector Frederick, were present at this congress, and a sincere reconciliation ensued between the different branches of the house of Mecklenburg*.

1415.

Foundation
of the univer-
sity of Ros-
tock.

WE come now to the most memorable transaction of the reign of these two dukes, their great encouragement of learning, by founding the university of Rostock. Princes who have had a regard for fame, have in all ages been the patrons of literature;

* Ibid.

being

being well aware, that the approbation both of their contemporaries and of posterity depends, in a great measure, upon their securing the suffrages of the dispensers of praise and censure. It is the observation of one of the most judicious critics of antiquity *, that brave generals had lived before Agamemnon, but that they were all buried in the obscurity of oblivion, for want of such a poet as Homer to celebrate their illustrious exploits. That aspiring conqueror, Alexander the Great, was so sensible of the utility of men of genius with regard to princes, that he held Aristotle in the highest favour and esteem; and was often heard to declare, “ that he did not envy Achilles so much for all
 “ the heroic actions of his life, as for his having had so great a
 “ poet as Homer to celebrate his memory.” Augustus and Lewis XIV. are likewise striking instances of the consequence of men of genius to princes, since they both owe their reputation more to the praises bestowed upon them by the learned and ingenious, whom they so liberally encouraged, than to any merit of their own. On this occasion, we cannot help taking notice of that beautiful saying of Charles V. king of France, to some persons who complained of the respect he shewed to men of letters, who were then called clerks: “ that clerks cannot
 “ be too much cherished; for so long as we honour learning,
 “ this kingdom will continue to prosper; but when once we
 “ begin to despise it, the French monarchy will decline †.”

ACTUATED by this noble principle, the dukes undertook to establish that great seminary of learning, the university of Rostock. The beginning of this foundation was made in 1415, and the work completed in the space of four years; when it was favoured with particular privileges by pope Martin V. This undertaking of the most illustrious founders met with such success, that even to the present time Rostock preserves a considerable rank among the German universities. The senate of this city had also a considerable share in the foundation, as they granted a sum of money for the support of the professors:

* Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona, &c. Horat. lib. iv. Od. 9.

† Henault Chron. Abridg. of the Hist. of France. Vol. I. pag. 267.

Origin of
universities.

hence it is, that the professorships are partly filled by the duke, and partly by the senate, which, according to the university phrase, renders them compatrons *.

THE establishment of universities took its rise in the beginning of the thirteenth century, when a body of masters and scholars was formed at Paris, for the more regular study of logic, rhetoric, and divinity †. The name was derived from these words in the pontifical bulls, by which their privileges were confirmed, “*Noverit universitas vestra, or Universitas magistorum & scholarium.*” Before that time, youth had been instructed in the schools belonging to cathedrals and monasteries, where all they acquired was grammatical learning. But in this new institution, a more liberal system of education took place, and the several sciences were taught by regular professors. The first statutes of the university of Paris were drawn up in 1215, by Robert de Corceon, the pope’s legate: these settled the time necessary for the study of each science, and the form of examining the student upon his proficiency. The example of Paris was soon followed in other kingdoms in Europe; the sciences were then cultivated with the most assiduous application, and the profession of letters was become as honourable as that of arms. In process of time, academical honours and titles were conferred on such as had distinguished themselves by their progress in the various branches of science: at first they were confined to the faculties of arts and divinity, but afterwards extended to law and physic; and these four were compared to the four rivers of the terrestrial paradise. In such esteem were these degrees held, that the persons dignified with them, began to claim precedency of knights; and, to prevent disputes, were oftentimes raised to the order of knighthood:

* Crantzius, Chemnitz, Bacmeister, Beselin, Franck.

† The reputation of that illustrious academy has tempted some of its modern members to give it a fabulous origin, and to ascribe the institution to Charlemagne; but such idle tales, the offspring of national vanity, are now rejected with contempt. It is true, that some historians of note make the foundation of that university more ancient by almost a century, and give the honour of it to Peter Lombard, master of the sentences, who died in 1164.

to this they gave the name of Chevalerie des Lectures, and to such as had been thus preferred, that of Milites Clerici. From the same source was derived the title of bachelors, or bas-chevaliers, a term which signified the inferior gentlemen or esquires, who waited on the knights; and afterwards was applied to the inferior professors of the arts and sciences, before they rose to the degree of doctors. These distinctions of the professors, and the general regard paid to academical learning, greatly contributed to increase the number of students throughout Europe, insomuch that it is said, there were no less than ten thousand students of the law at Bologna in 1262, thirty thousand students at Oxford in 1340, ten thousand graduates in that same century at the university of Paris, and upwards of forty thousand students at that of Prague, under the famous John Hufs. Rostock also rose to its share of academical fame, as we shall shew more fully, when we come to treat of the state of learning in Mecklenburg in the sixteenth century. We shall only observe at present, that the dignity of rector of that academy was long held in such high esteem, as to be an object of ambition to princes of the first rank. Among other respectable names, we meet with Balthasar and Eric, dukes of Mecklenburg; William and Augustus, dukes of Luneburg; Ulric, prince of Pomerania; William, duke of Courland; and Ulric, prince of Denmark, who thought themselves honoured by exercising the office of rectors of the university of Rostock.

At the very time that duke John was promoting the cause of learning and religion, by the establishment of that university, he was so unfortunate as to have a quarrel with the clergy, in consequence of his marriage in 1416, with Catharine, daughter of Eric, duke of Saxe-Lawenburg, and widow of John IX. of Werle. This princess being related to him in a degree of consanguinity, obnoxious to the ecclesiastic laws, Detlevin of Parkentin, bishop of Schwerin, fulminated the sentence of excommunication against him. But this censure was quickly removed by a pontifical dispensation. It seems probable, however, that this was not obtained without a considerable sum

1416.
Duke John
quarrels with
the clergy.

of

of money, and that he paid it with greater satisfaction to the pope than he would have done to the bishop, merely to avoid making submission to a priest in his own dominions.

1418.
War of the
Hussites in
Bohemia.

ABOUT this period, the followers of the tenets of John Hufs began to take up arms in defence of their religion. At first they assembled at Tabor in Bohemia, under the command of John of Frosnow, surnamed Ziska, or Blind of one Eye, in order to avenge the honour of their nation, which had been insulted by the infamous treatment of John Hufs and Jerome of Prague. At length, they threw off their allegiance to the emperor Sigismund, and a civil war ensued, in which they were victorious almost twenty years against the whole power of Germany. But Ziska, their leader, dying of the plague, and their chiefs being afterwards divided among themselves, an accommodation was concluded at Iglau in Moravia, by which they obtained the communion under both kinds, and Sigismund was acknowledged king of Bohemia *.

1417.
War between
Eric, king of
Denmark,
and the
counts of
Holstein.

DURING these commotions in that kingdom, a war broke out between Eric, king of Denmark, successor of Margaret, and the counts of Holstein, in which Albert V. duke of Mecklenburg happened to be involved. The cause of this quarrel, was the restless ambition of king Eric, who would fain deprive the young counts, Henry Adolphus, and Gerard, of the duchy of Sleswick, which they held as a fief of the crown of Denmark. King Eric was supported in his pretensions by the emperor Sigismund, his near relation, who confirmed the sentence by which those princes had been stripped of their dukedom. So unjust a proceeding was extremely disagreeable to the neighbouring states, but especially to duke Albert of Mecklenburg. This young prince being determined to support the counts of Holstein, as much as the exhausted state of his finances would permit, marched a small body of horse to their assistance. The king, on the other hand, being encouraged by the emperor, and by his cousins, the dukes of Pomerania, immediately invaded the duchy of Sleswick, and laid siege to the capital.

* Heisse, Puffendorff, Barre, Pfeffel.

This

This place was defended by the duke of Mecklenburg, who reviving his father's claim to the crown of Sweden, assumed on this occasion the regal title. Eric invested the town with a formidable army, consisting, as some affirm, of a hundred thousand men, who pressed the siege so close, that duke Albert, seeing no hopes of succours, thought proper to capitulate. Among other articles it was expressly stipulated, that the duke should never wage war against king Eric, but cultivate a thorough harmony and friendship with that monarch*.

ON the feast of St. Simon and Jude this year, the dukes of Mecklenburg of both lines, Schwerin and Stargard, entered into a solemn compact of inheritance with the princes of Werle, that in case of the extinction of either branch, the surviving line should succeed to the whole of their dominions. This year also, the Hanse towns had a general meeting at Lubeck, where they came to several resolutions for the better regulation of their commerce.

1418.
Family compact between the dukes of Schwerin and Stargard, and the princes of Werle.

THE ensuing year proved fatal to the dukes of Stargard, against whom war had been declared by the elector of Brandenburg. The cause thereof is supposed to have been, that the dukes of Stargard formed some demands upon the margraviate, in consequence of the stadtholdership†. The two armies coming to an engagement in the neighbourhood of a village, called Koblanck, John duke of Stargard was taken prisoner by the count of Ruppın, and carried to Tangermund, where he was confined ten years by the elector Frederick. The case of this unfortunate prince being commiserated by his relations, the dukes of Mecklenburg and the duke of Pomerania, they entered into an alliance for setting him at liberty. An army was accordingly raised with great expedition, and the princes being joined by the troops of Saxe-Lawenburg, marched into the marquisate of Brandenburg, where they laid siege to the town of Strausberg. The troops of Rostock having no scaling-ladders, formed themselves into a testudo, and approached the walls with an intent

1419.
War between the dukes of Stargard and the elector of Brandenburg.

* Pontan, Mallet, Beehr, Franck.

† Concerning this stadtholdership, see the first chapter of the next Book.

to undermine them. Mean time Otho, duke of Stettin, was ordered to watch the city gate with four hundred horse, to prevent the enemy from making a sally on the besiegers. But the slingers of Brandenburg acted their part so well, that the Pomeranian horse were driven off, and duke Otho was obliged to quit his station. Upon which the besiegers made a vigorous sally, and drove the Mecklenburghers from before the walls. The confederate princes, finding themselves mistaken with regard to the strength of the garrison, thought proper to raise the siege, and retire to their respective territories. The elector of Brandenburg, elate with this success, made an incursion the next year into the territory of Mecklenburg, and laying siege to the castle of Gorlose, said to be a common receptacle of banditti, he took and levelled it to the ground. From thence he led his victorious troops against Otho, duke of Stettin, and made himself master of the new town and castle of Angermunde, of which the Pomeranians had held peaceable possession full seventy years. This misfortune brought on the loss of the castles of Greyffenberg, Boitzenburg, Zhedenick, and Prentzlow, which had been hitherto subject to the dukes of Stettin. At length, a congress was held at Perleberg, at which were present Frederick, elector of Brandenburg; William, duke of Luneburg; Casimir, duke of Stettin; John and Albert, dukes of Mecklenburg; Eric, duke of Saxe-Lawenburg, with several other princes, and the deputies of the Hanse towns. The result of this assembly was a general pacification, and the restitution of prisoners on both sides (except the duke of Stargard). The manner in which the quarrel between the elector and the dukes of Mecklenburg was accommodated, ought to serve for a pattern to all princes. The elector, perceiving that his ministers, as well as those of the dukes of Mecklenburg, were averse from an accommodation, since they found their account in the spoils and plunder of war, resolved to treat with duke Albert, without any intervention of a minister, concerning the means of establishing a perfect reconciliation between the two families. It was therefore agreed betwixt them, that the elector should

should restore the two castles of Domitz and Gorlose, which he had taken from the dukes of Mecklenburg; and duke Albert, on the other hand, should promise to marry that prince's youngest daughter: still the elector would not release the duke of Stargard, but assigned some private reasons for prolonging his confinement.

Peace concluded, and duke Albert marries the elector's daughter.

THIS year the dukes of Mecklenburg, observing their cousins of Werle to be without any male issue, exacted the oath of allegiance of the states of that province, who complied with the demand, in the presence of the princes Balthasar, William, and Christopher. The substance of this oath was, that in case those princes happened to die without male issue, the dukes should succeed to their dominions, and confirm the privileges of the inhabitants*.

1421.

HAPPY would it have been for Eric king of Sweden, had he maintained the privileges of his subjects, instead of reducing them to despair by the insolence of his officers. So great was the oppression under which those people groaned, that this year they offered the crown of Sweden to John, duke of Mecklenburg, who was disposed to accept of it, notwithstanding the disgusts and troubles it had occasioned to his uncle, king Albert: but he died at Schwerin soon after his election, and king Eric got rid of a rival, before he had felt him an enemy.

1422.
Death of duke John.

DUKE John was tall in stature, comely in his person, endowed with great accomplishments, and remarkably intrepid. He had a religious turn of mind, which he displayed, according to the custom of that age, in building many new, and repairing some old churches. He was twice married, first, to Judith, daughter of Otho, count of Hoya; and, after her decease, to Catharine, daughter of Eric, duke of Saxe-Lawenburg, and widow of prince John IX. of Werle. By the latter he had three sons, John VIII. Henry VI. surnamed the Fat, and Magnus II. But Magnus dying young, he was succeeded by the two eldest in the government. In consequence of this marriage between duke John and Catharine of Lawenburg, was

1423.
His issue.

* Chemnitz, Latomus, Beehr, Franck.

formed the compact of inheritance between the two princely houses, in virtue of which the dukes of Mecklenburg laid claim to the succession of Saxe-Lawenburg, upon the extinction of that family. Others make this treaty somewhat later.

Death of
duke Albert.

THE death of duke John was soon followed by that of his cousin, duke Albert the fifth, who had been betrothed, as we have already mentioned, to Margaret, daughter of Frederick I. elector of Brandenburg. To celebrate the marriage, he set out this year for Tangermunde, where the bishop of Brandenburg performed the nuptial ceremony. This was the first marriage contract between the house of Mecklenburg and the present house of Brandenburg. Duke Albert took the princess with him to Mecklenburg; but as she was yet too young, the consummation was deferred for some time. Mean while, the duke was snatched away in the flower of his youth. As the marriage was never consummated, the government of Mecklenburg denied that she had any right to her dower; so that she was sent back untouched to her father. Duke Albert, perceiving the approach of death, entrusted the care of his young cousins, Henry and John, to the magistrates of Rostock and Wismar; not that they should administer the government, but assist the young princes with their counsel.

As the whole country of Mecklenburg came under one line again, in the reign of the succeeding duke Henry VI. surnamed the Fat, this constitutes a remarkable æra in our history, with which we shall commence the ensuing book.

THE
HISTORY
OF
VANDALIA.
BOOK V.

Of the DUKES of MECKLENBURG,

From HENRY VI. surnamed the Fat, to the death
of HENRY VII. surnamed the Peaceable, viz.
from 1423 to 1552.

THE period upon which we are now entering, does not offer to our view such brilliant scenes as those of the preceding part of our history. No longer are we entertained with the recital of great exploits, nor with those important revolutions which fill the awe-struck soul with astonishment. The connections between the dukes of Mecklenburg and the northern crowns being considerably diminished, their foreign expeditions in search of military glory become less frequent, and are succeeded by more peaceful times, during which these princes, for the most part, confine their views to the administration of their paternal dominions. And yet, perhaps, those days of silent peace were productive of more real advantage to the country, and more solid glory to the sovereign, than victories and triumphs, which are but too often the gay offspring

of mourning and lamentation. It was during this period of tranquility, that the whole country of Mecklenburg was reunited under one head, that the reformation of religion was established, and that learning began to flourish under the auspices and protection of generous princes. It was in these halcyon days, likewise, that the country was indebted to the clemency and benignity of its sovereigns, for those privileges and concessions which form the bulwark of its constitutional freedom. Then it was that the legislature, that is, the power of regulating affairs both civil and ecclesiastic, was settled by the Formula Concordiæ, and by the act of union of the states in 1521, which are properly the basis of that excellent government. But before we attempt to relate these transactions of the principal line, the connection of our subject requires we should take some notice of the collateral branch of the dukes of Mecklenburg-Stargard.

CHAP. I.

Of the dukes of Mecklenburg-Stargard to the extinction of that line.

THE line of Mecklenburg-Stargard soon became extinct; but the memory of its gallant princes will never die, while virtue has its votaries, great exploits their admirers, and undeserved misfortunes can draw a pitying tear from the compassionate.

I. JOHN I. the first duke of Mecklenburg-Stargard.

THIS prince was brother of Albert I. the first duke of Mecklenburg. With regard to the transactions of his reign, a full account has been given thereof in the preceding pages of this history. He died in 1377*, and left four sons behind him, John, Ulric, Rudolphus, and Albert: the two last were ecclesiastics; so that John II. and Ulric I. succeeded their father in the government of that duchy.

* See pag. 288.

II. JOHN

II. JOHN II. and ULRIC I. dukes of Mecklenburg-Stargard.

THESE two princes, actuated by a principle of fraternal love, agreed to a joint administration, in order to preserve their dominions, like their hearts, undivided. During the late civil wars in Sweden, duke John had signalized his valour in the service of his cousin, the unfortunate king Albert, by raising the siege of Stockholm, and by several other exploits, the particulars of which have been related at large in the preceding book *. After the abdication of that monarch, duke John returned to his duchy of Stargard, where his brother and he lived for some time in peace with all their neighbours. Duke Ulric had been educated at the court of the emperor Sigismund, when that prince was only king of Hungary. Hence it was, that the two brothers cultivated a particular friendship with the house of Lutzelburg, which, in 1373, had succeeded that of Bavaria, in the electorate of Brandenburg. In such intimacy did they live with that family, that they were appointed stadtholders of the electorate, by Jodocus, or Joffe, margrave of Moravia.

John II. and
Ulric I.
stadtholders
of Branden-
burg.

THE administration of this electorate was become a very arduous province; yet the two brothers accepted of the office, in order to oblige the Imperial family. Besides, as the country had greatly suffered by the bad administration of the present sovereign, Sigismund, king of Hungary, they were willing to prevent it from devolving to another line, which might create them some uneasiness, on account of Stargard. Sigismund did not scruple to mortgage his hereditary patrimony at different times, in order to gratify his ambition and excessive prodigality. The first who advanced money on this mortgage was his cousin Jodocus, margrave of Moravia, and after him Procopius, his brother. Sigismund had it not in his power to eject those princes, as they had taken the investiture from his own father, the emperor Charles IX. But the mortgagees, looking upon themselves only as temporary proprietors of the electorate, were

Confusion in
that country.

* See pag. 334.

prompted

prompted by their avarice to administer it in a most rapacious manner; they committed the government to different stadtholders, whose only study was to extort money from the inhabitants. From measures so oppressive ensued a general confusion; the people were all up in arms; the laws were trampled under foot; and the whole country was become one general scene of horror and barbarity. The Bassewitz-day at Kyritz, and the Clement's-sword in the town-house of Pritzwalk, are standing monuments of the anarchy of those times, and of the bloody wars between the nobles and plebeians. The chronicles of Brandenburg are filled with the cruelties of that unhappy period.

THE dukes of Stargard do not seem to have taken any advantage of these disorders, but to have endeavoured rather to repress them. For some time before they had quelled an insurrection in this country, when the gentry rose up in arms, and committed great outrages on the frontiers; but they were defeated, at length, by the dukes of Stargard. And this, perhaps, was the reason which induced the margrave, Jodocus, to make them his stadtholders. Such a regulation, however, was far from being agreeable to a licentious nobility, accustomed to live on plunder: they continued the war, or rather the revolt, against the house of Lutzelburg.

1403.
Difference
between the
margrave
Jodocus and
the stadtholders.

THIS year the margrave Jodocus paid a visit to the electorate of Brandenburg, and deprived the dukes of Stargard of the stadtholdership, which he thought proper to confer on Gunther, count of Schwartzburg. The reason he alledged for this proceeding was, that they had not quieted the late disturbances. But it was extremely difficult for a stadtholder to satisfy both parties. The burghers, generally speaking, were most submissive to those princes, and seemed pleased with their administration: but this very circumstance gave offence to the nobility, who were ever at variance with the plebeians. Besides, the margrave Jodocus was for having the nobility treated like peasants; and the nobility, on the contrary, would be considered as princes. Thus it was impossible to reconcile those

those jarring interests. The consequence was, that the two brothers were not only deprived of all their authority and power as stadtholders, but met likewise with farther provocation; for the margrave Jodocus would fain dispossess them of the little territory they had obtained from the emperor Charles IV. in the electorate of Brandenburg, viz. Lenzen, &c. Under such circumstances of aggravation they had recourse to arms, after concluding a treaty of alliance with the other princes of their family: they had been long at variance with their cousins of Werle; but interest now made up the breach, and all animosities were laid aside. They had likewise been upon bad terms with their cousins of Mecklenburg: some of the nobility on both sides had committed outrages on the frontiers, and the princes suspected each other of countenancing those violences; but the truth being discovered, that the riotous inhabitants of the electorate of Brandenburg were the real authors of those outrages, the princes were reconciled, and prepared for war against the Brandenburgishers. In the heat of this contest, the towns of Friedland and Strausberg were taken and plundered by duke Ulric. At length, the margrave Jodocus thought it more advisable to come to an accommodation with the two brothers; and he found those princes inclined to a reconciliation, from a remembrance of their former intimacy and friendship. In order, therefore, to put an end to the dispute, duke John resolved to set out for Berlin, but had the misfortune of being stopped in his career, by an audacious attempt from two private noblemen*.

THESE two noblemen were brothers, of the name of Quitzow; a family, at that time, remarkable for opulence and power, and the chief opposers of the house of Lutzburg. They were possessed of twenty-four castles, situated in several parts of the electorate of Brandenburg, besides very considerable estates in the district of Prignitz†. They had, also, some lands in the duchy of Mecklenburg; but as the sovereigns of this

Duke John
taken pri-
soner by the
Quitzows.

* Crantz. Rixner, Chemn. Latom. Hubner, Spener, Buckholtz, Franck.

† The greatest part of their estate was seized by the elector Frederick I. of the house of Hohenzollern; yet the family is still possessed of some lands in that country.

country were in close connection with the house of Lutzburg, the Quitzows were, of course, become enemies to our princes. No sooner, therefore, were the dukes of Stargard raised to the stadholdership by the margrave Jodocus, than the two brothers, John and Theodoric, of Quitzow, made inroads into the territory of Stargard, and committed the most horrid depredations. At length, the two parties came to an engagement near a village called Thure, where the mutinous nobles were defeated, and Theodoric of Quitzow taken prisoner by duke John of Stargard. Theodoric being set at liberty in 1403, by the margrave Jodocus, resolved to seize the first opportunity of wreaking his vengeance on duke John. The opportunity now offered, by the duke's undertaking this journey to Berlin, when the two brothers of Quitzow seized him at a place called Liebenwalde, from whence they carried him to Plawe, a strong castle upon the Havel in the Middle-Marck.

1408.

DEEP was the distress, and poignant the affliction, of the gallant duke John, upon falling into the hands of his cruel and implacable enemies. Those who have basked in the sunshine of fortune, and tasted the sweets of prosperity, feel the sudden transition to misery with additional exacerbation. The peasant, on the other hand, sees content take shelter in his humble cottage, and placed so low by fate has the happiness of being sure he can sink no lower. The confinement in which duke John continued to pine and languish, received aggravated horror from the rigorous treatment of the Quitzows. His case, indeed, would have been to the last degree deplorable, had not the inhabitants of Brandenburg, in gratitude for the services done them when he was stadtholder of that country, supplied him with the necessaries of life, which the inhumanity of the Quitzows denied him. This imprisonment being, at last, rendered insupportable by the barbarity of his enemies, he had recourse to the following stratagem, in order to make his escape. There lived a baker in the castle of Plawe, whom the duke prevailed upon, partly by exciting his compassion, and partly by the promise of a considerable recompence, to let him down by a rope into the ditch which surrounded the castle, and was, at that time, covered

vered over with ice, it being the month of February. The duke having thus got down, fled to a neighbouring wood, where he had given directions for some horsemen to wait his coming. But whether they mistook their way, or misunderstood their directions, they were not there at the time appointed. The cold was intense, and the duke was but ill-prepared against it, being only in his slippers and night-gown. In this extreme distress he concealed himself in the thickest part of the wood, and was ready to perish with cold and hunger. In the mean time the Quitzows, having received intelligence of the duke's escape, immediately mounted on horseback, and pursued him with a number of troopers, who surrounded the wood. Duke John having now no hopes of escaping, and being pressed on every side, was reduced to the sad alternative of surrendering himself prisoner once more to the Quitzows, or to perish with cold and hunger. Fortune, however, ceased to persecute him this year; for John of Quitzow being out-hunting the ensuing winter, was surprized by a party belonging to duke Ulric, brother to duke John, and carried to the town of Lichens, where he was kept in close confinement, till the duke was released in exchange.

DUKE John II. did not long survive the recovery of his liberty, for he departed this life in 1418, and his brother, duke Ulric, died the year before, viz. in 1417, or, as others affirm, the same year. John II. left by his wife Vegetula, of Pomerania, a son, duke John III. and a daughter Hedwig, who was abbess of Ribnitz. Ulric I. had a son, named Henry, by Margaret, daughter of Suantibor, duke of Pomerania, and a daughter named Anna, abbess of Wantzke.

1418.
Death of
duke John
II. and Ul-
ric I.

III. JOHN III. and HENRY, dukes of Mecklenburg-Stargard.

AFTER the decease of duke Ulric I. and John II. in 1418, the two cousins, John III. and Henry, undertook to govern the dukedom of Stargard by a joint administration. John had been appointed stadtholder of Brandenburg, by the margrave Jodocus in 1410, some years before his father died. But the

John III. and
Henry suc-
ceed in the
government;

stadtholdership having proved a source of infinite trouble to this unfortunate prince, it will be proper to enter more minutely into the circumstances attending it, and into the causes by which he was detained ten years in captivity at Tangermunde.

Stadtholder-
ship and long
captivity of
John III.

THE margrave Jodocus had, as we have already observed, possessed himself of the electorate of Brandenburg by way of mortgage, and governed that country by a deputy or stadtholder. The avarice of this prince rendered him extremely odious to the inhabitants; and his deputies were generally disliked for their oppressive methods of government. But Jodocus, in his old age, was likewise actuated by the spirit of ambition; and in 1410 his towering mind began to aspire to the Imperial dignity. Some, indeed, imagine this to have been his aim ever since the year 1400, when the emperor Wenceslaus was deposed. Sigismund, king of Hungary, having refunded the money that had been borrowed upon the electorate of Brandenburg, Jodocus restored that country to its lawful sovereign in 1410. The abovementioned king borrowed this sum of William, margrave of Misnia, who insisted on security for his money. This occasioned the electorate to be mortgaged again in 1411; but it was redeemed the next year, 1412, by Sigismund, who was now elected to the Imperial dignity. The emperor, however, did not redeem the electorate with his own money; for his extravagances ever rendering him necessitous, he was obliged to borrow again of Frederick I. burgrave of Nuremberg, whom he therefore appointed stadtholder of that electorate in 1413. But as the burgrave could not get back his principal, merely by the administration of that electorate, nor indeed derive any advantage from it in its present state of anarchy and confusion, the emperor was under the necessity of selling this electorate out-right to the above burgrave in 1417. This custom of selling and purchasing whole provinces, so much in vogue at that time, shews, according to the observation of a royal historian *, the barba-

* Memoirs of the house of Brandenburg.

rity of the age, and the miserable state of those countries, which were sold at so low a price.

THE new elector, by his resolution, intrepidity, and general good conduct, soon put things on a better footing, and brought the inhabitants into some order. The purchase, strictly speaking, was made in 1415, but Sigismund had stipulated the right of redemption in failure of male issue. In 1417 the electorate was confirmed to Frederick for ever, and he yielded homage to the emperor for himself and his posterity. The possession of that country has ever since continued in his family, the present king of Prussia being a lineal descendant of the burgrave Frederick.

SUCH was the situation of affairs in that country, when duke John III. of Stargard was taken prisoner by the count de Ruppin in 1419. The affair happened in the following manner: duke John had some disputes with Frederick, elector of Brandenburg, concerning the district of Prignitz, and the old claims of feudal jurisdiction over the principality of Stargard. The elector being gone to the council of Constance, duke John seized this opportunity of concluding an alliance with the duke of Pomerania, and jointly attacking the electorate of Brandenburg. Accordingly, they marched their forces into that country, and laid siege to the town of Strausberg, the burghers of which made so gallant a defence, that the dukes were obliged to raise the siege. Upon which duke John thought proper to march back to Stargard, when he was attacked by the Brandenburgers, under the command of the count of Ruppín, near the village of Koblenk; and after an obstinate engagement, in which he gave signal proofs of personal valour, he had the misfortune of being defeated and taken prisoner. Upon the elector Frederick's return from Constance, the count of Ruppín delivered up the duke into his hands; and the unfortunate prince was conducted to Tangermunde, where he continued ten years in captivity. His relations did their utmost to prevail with the elector to restore him to his liberty, but all proved ineffectual: the times were too troublesome and tem-

Cause of his
long capti-
vity.

pestuous to consent to his release, till there was no further danger of his creating any disturbance to the new elector. For the duke of Stargard had formed some pretensions to the margraviate, or to part of its territory, on account of his father's stadtholdership: and besides, he was considered as an adherent to the house of Lutzburg. At length, however, he was released by a treaty concluded at Ratenow in 1427; for we meet with an engagement * signed by that prince this year, by which he agreed to pay for his ransom three thousand florins, two thousand of which were paid down, and he remained indebted for the other thousand. The historians of Brandenburg also affirm, that he agreed to pay homage to the elector for the duchy of Stargard: but this does not appear from any public record. However that may have been, duke John III. is said to have contracted an illness during that severe confinement, which at length proved fatal to him, and occasioned his death in 1440, as John Bocerius has observed in his *elogium* on that prince †.

Death of
John III. and
his brother.

1439.

Duke Henry survived his cousin, and bore the chief weight of administration during that prince's long captivity. In the year 1436, when the line of Werle, or of the princes of Wenden, came to be extinct, he and his cousin duke John III. quarrelled about the succession with the dukes of Schwerin; but the difference was adjusted in 1439, and the line of Stargard acquired Stavenhagen and Wredenhagen for their portion. In the year 1434 or 1437, duke Henry granted to the ladies in his principality the privilege called by the Germans, *Erbjungfernrecht*, or the right of females to inherit; and in 1439, he favoured the towns of Friedland and New-Brandenburg, for two

* Westphal. Diplom. tom. 4.

† " Invida, quæ fortem pressit fortuna parentem,

Non etiam nato mitior illa fuit

Tristia nam teneris dum prælia conficit annis,

Restitit ac signis Marchia dira tuis;

Hic quoque (tam belli felix est alea) captus,

Exul & a patria per duo lustra fuit.

Quæque sibi duro contraxit carcere damna,

Improba maturæ causâ fuere necis."

years

years only, with the right of coinage. This good prince died in 1466. He was twice married, first, to Ingeburga, a princess of Pomerania; and secondly, to Margaret, daughter of Frederick, duke of Brunswick-Luneburg. By the former he had a son, named Ulric II. and two princesses, Magdalen and Margaret. Margaret was betrothed to Eric, duke of Pomerania. Magdalen was married, first, to Wratislaus, duke of Pomerania, and after that prince's decease, to Bernard, count of Barby: she died very far advanced in years in 1533.

DUKE Henry, according to the testimony of several historians, was well skilled in astronomy, but not equally versed in the art of government. He is said to have held money in great contempt; and it was a standing maxim with him, that nothing could be a stronger proof of meanness of spirit, than the inordinate desire of riches. A particular instance of his inattention to money is mentioned in history: his steward happened to be sitting one day in his office, with a long row of counters before him, which he made use of in casting up his accounts: the duke wanted money at that time, and apprehending the counters to be current specie, took them up, and told the steward, that he stood in need of cash, desiring him, at the same time, to look out for more for his own use. The steward, and the other spectators, smiled; but when they told him that those counters were only designed for calculation, the duke threw them down, and went away disappointed. The same indifference, in respect to money, is attributed to his cousin, Henry the Fat*.

Character of
duke Henry.

ULRIC II. duke of Mecklenburg-Stargard.

DUKE Ulric II. in the beginning of his reign, gave strong indications of a turbulent disposition. He first quarrelled with his cousins of Mecklenburg, and afterwards fell upon the territories of the duke of Pomerania, where, as well as in the duchy of Mecklenburg, he committed great ravages. But he had to deal with princes far more powerful than himself;

Duke Ulric
II. succeeds
in the go-
vernment.

* Chem. Latom. Rixner, Beehr, Kluver, Spener, Nettlebladt, Franck.

and,

1471.
His tragical
exit.

and, after the first surprize, he was obliged to retreat with precipitation, and to repair the damage he had done to his kinsmen: so when his juvenile heat had subsided, he began to think more solidly, and endeavoured, by the arts of peace, to promote the happiness of his subjects. This happiness was however afterwards suspended by a mistaken notion of piety and devotion, which induced him to absent himself from his dominions in 1470, in order to make a pilgrimage to the Holy-land. In this expedition he was accompanied by his cousin Magnus, duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin; and, upon his return, he was poisoned in 1471. The circumstances of his tragic exit are very extraordinary. The duke had two gentlemen of his bed-chamber, one of whom was jealous of the other, because he was the master's favourite: such possession had the passion of envy taken of his soul, that he formed the wicked purpose of ridding himself of his rival by a poisonous draught. Accordingly, he prepared the fatal potion for him, and left it upon a table in his room, intending to administer it the first opportunity: but, unluckily, the duke happened to come into the apartment at a time when he was very thirsty, and seeing the deadly beverage, drank it off, quite ignorant of the consequence. Upon the approach of death, he expressed the most lively sentiments of piety, and with his last breath uttered these words: " Good God! " is this all I have acquired by my battles and peregrinations, " four boards and a winding sheet!" Thus did this good prince, by a strange kind of fatality, fall a sacrifice to the jealousy of his wicked servant, who, thinking to engross the favour of his master, deprived him of life. The inscription on the monument erected afterwards to his memory at Wanzke*, by duke Ulric IV. reflects the highest honour upon him.

* On the abovementioned monument are to be seen his sword, helmet, and arms, with the following epitaph, composed by the privy counsellor Mylius, and engraved in golden letters:

" Hoc tua nobilitas, toties spectataque virtus
Promeruit, cippus ne rudis ossa tegat,
Dux Ulrice; tibi data stirps est, Linea summa est,
Te tulit extremum Stargaris alta ducem.

Te

HE died without issue male, but left by his wife Catharine, daughter of William, prince of Werle or Wenden, two princesses, namely, Ingeburga, married to Eberwin, count of Bentheim, and Elizabeth, abbess of Rhene. Upon duke Ulric's decease, his domains fell to duke Henry the Fat, who thus became possessed of the whole patrimony of this illustrious family *. We, therefore, now return to the principal line; and, in due order of succession, shall give an account of the administration of Henry the Fat, duke of Mecklenburg.

Te genus et proavus decorant, te stemmata gentis

Tollunt, tu factis nobile nomen habes.

Vicini sensere virum, sensere cohortes,

Victricesque tuas extimuerunt manus.

Nonne hac ad tumultum vagina conditus olim

Principis Ulrici fatifer ensis erat?

Hoc fido accinctus gladio sæpe hostica castra,

Sæpe duces fudit, Marchia terra, tuos.

Hic Solymæ Magno comitatus principe templum

Vidit, tum Sinai Saxa stupenda iugi.

At postquam varios habuit sub marte labores,

Urget grandævum senior atque dies.

Error inest rebus, sic non sibi mixta veneno

Ignarus sceleris pocula forte bibit.

Et cum supremum sentiret adesse laborem,

Hos cælum intuitus protulit ore sonos:

O quantum belli, quantus cum sanguine fudor,

Quatuor obque affes vile toralque, Deus.

Verum ille ut merito posthac in honore jaceret,

Principis Ulrici hoc nobile fecit opus.

Vivit perpetuo, mortisque est nescia virtus,

Sic bene pro meritis præmia digna manent."

* Bacmeister, Chemnitz, Latomus, Hubner, Spener, Nettleblatt, Stevern.

C H A P. II.

H E N R Y VI. and

J O H N VIII.

D U K E S of M E C K L E N B U R G.

From 1423 to 1477.

E M P E R O R S of G E R M A N Y,

S I G I S M U N D - - - - 1410.

A L B E R T II. of Austria, - - 1437.

F R E D E R I C K III. - - - 1440.

K I N G S of E N G L A N D,

H E N R Y VI. - - - - 1422.

E D W A R D IV. - - - - 1461.

Regency of the dutchefs Catharine. War between Denmark and the Hanse towns. Insurrections in Wisnar and Rostock. Compact of inheritance betwixt the houses of Mecklenburg and Saxe-Lawenburg. The dukes of Mecklenburg succeed to the principality of Wenden. The duchefs resigns the government to her sons upon their coming to age. Disputes with the elector of Brandenburg. Death of the emperor Sigismund, and of his successor Albert II. Death of duke John VIII. Disturbances in Sweden and Denmark. Christopher, duke of Bavaria, elected king of Denmark. His death. The house of Oldenburg succeeds to the crown of Denmark. Duke Henry succeeds to the duchy of Stargard, upon the death of his cousin Ulric II. Death of Henry the Fat. His character and issue.

1423.
Regency of
the duchefs
Catharine.

N E V E R are misfortunes more severely felt, than when they happen to be aggravated by the apparent proximity of those enjoyments which are irrecoverably ravished from us. Such was the impression made by the untimely fate of duke Albert

Albert V. * on the disconsolate inhabitants of Mecklenburg. This hopeful prince, the darling of the people, was snatched away from them in the bloom of youth, whilst they fondly flattered themselves with hopes of the greatest blessings from his singular virtues, and superior capacity for government. Before he could consummate his nuptials with the lovely princess of Brandenburg, the torch of hymen was all on a sudden extinguished in the eternal night of death; and the country of Mecklenburg, being deprived of its prop, was left in a helpless, forlorn state, charged with two infant princes, Henry and John, the sons of duke John VII. These princes, being of too tender an age to hold the reins of government in their own hands, were placed under the tuition of their mother Catharine, who discharged her trust with the utmost assiduity and care, and gave convincing proofs of extraordinary abilities. In this situation she continued a considerable time, for duke Henry VI. was born in 1418, and therefore, at his father's decease, could be hardly five years old. Whether Henry VI. or John VIII. was the eldest, we cannot determine with any certainty, since we do not find any mention of the year in which the latter was born. The towns of Wismar and Rostock are said to have been nominated to the regency by order of duke Albert V. in conjunction with the duchess; but this princess managed affairs so dexterously as to exclude those cities from any share in the administration. She had, indeed, a very just plea, their domestic broils and disturbances; for how could those citizens be supposed capable of navigating a large vessel upon the ocean of politics, when they had not skill sufficient to guide their only little bark? To assist her, however, in the regency, she pitched upon two noblemen, Matthias Axkow, and Otho Vierregen. The former seems to have had the principal management of affairs, and to have greatly abused the power with which he had been intrusted †.

* See pag. 378.

† Crantzius, Chemnitz, Latomus, Beehr, Buckholtz, Franck.

1424.
Conduct of
her minister
Matthias
Axxow.

DURING the minority of the two brothers, a war broke out with Brandenburg, which seems to have had its rise from a private quarrel between Matthias Axxow, the duchess's prime minister, and baron John Gans of Putlitz. The contempt in which the latter held the former, encouraged him to invade the territory of Mecklenburg. And thus it frequently happens, that the quarrels of nations proceed rather from the private disputes or interests of individuals, than from any contention, pique, or animosity between the sovereigns themselves. On the contrary, princes are often disposed to live upon good terms with their neighbours, when the rapacity of their ministers unfortunately sets them at variance. In the present contest Axxow commanded the troops of Mecklenburg, and baron Putlitz those of Brandenburg. The baron advancing precipitately, from his too great contempt of the enemy, was defeated and taken prisoner. As he had committed some outrages upon the lands belonging to the church of Schwerin, he was delivered into the hands of the bishop of that diocese, Henry of Wangelin, by whom he was kept in close custody, till he paid a considerable ransom. In the mean time the duchess, by means of her minister, concluded an alliance with the two princes of Werle, Christopher and William, with a design to support each other against the power of Brandenburg. The elector of that name was then employed by the emperor Sigismund against the Hussites in Bohemia, and had entrusted his son John, surnamed the Alchymist, with the government of Brandenburg. The contract of marriage between duke Albert and the electoral princess, had, in a great measure, restored amity between the two courts; but the untimely death of that prince, and the court of Mecklenburg's refusing to pay his bride's dower, were, in all probability, the motives that excited the margrave John to interpose in the quarrel between the two noblemen.

1425.
War against
Brandenburg.

HOWEVER that may have been, the troops of Mecklenburg, joined by those under the command of the princes of Werle, marched into the district of Prignitz, and between Pritzwald and

and Meyenburg, a bloody battle was fought with the army of Brandenburg. The latter was commanded by John the Alchymist in person, who obtained a complete victory over the princes of Werle. Prince Christopher was slain in the action, and with him ended the line of Robel. In the heat of the engagement, prince William had like to have been taken prisoner; but Henry of Molzahn sacrificed his own liberty, to prevent the prince from falling into the hands of the enemy. The bravery of this nobleman, and his extraordinary attachment to his sovereign, deserve to be perpetually recorded. Seeing his master in danger of being hemmed in on all sides, he rushed on with the utmost rapidity, and threw himself between prince William and the enemy, by which means he kept the Brandenburgers so long at bay, that his master had time to escape; but Molzahn himself was overpowered and taken prisoner. This gallant action was imitated in our times, by a noble officer in the British army, who, by generously risking his own person, snatched another hero, of the same name, out of the hands of the enemy. John of Aa, afterwards burgomaster of Rostock, was also present at the battle of Pritzwald, where he acquired great honour, but had the misfortune of being taken prisoner. A cessation of arms was, at length, agreed to in 1426, and the next year the contending parties concluded a definitive treaty of peace*.

The battle of
Pritzwald.

1426.

No sooner was tranquility restored on the side of the electorate of Brandenburg, but disturbances arose among the Hanse towns along the Baltic, occasioned by the war between Eric, king of Denmark, and the counts of Holstein. The king had refused to grant the investiture of the duchy of Sleswick to the counts of Holstein, in any other manner than as a personal fief; whereas the counts insisted on having it hereditary. Both sides were obstinate, and after they had, for some time, tried the fortune of war with various success, Eric had recourse to the arbitration of the emperor Sigismund, who decided in favour of the Danish mo-

1427.
War between
Denmark
and Holstein.

* Chemn. Latom. Crantz. Beehr, Kluver, Corner, Lindenburg, Mylius, Schultz, Franck.

narch. But the counts of Holstein refusing to comply with this decree, Eric assembled a numerous army in order to maintain his pretensions. At the same time, the counts of Holstein took the necessary precautions for their own defence. In particular, they solicited the Vandalic cities, or the Hanse towns along the Baltic, to arm in their favour, after convincing them of the justice of their cause. In the former part of this quarrel, these cities had espoused the interest of king Eric, but count Henry of Holstein, found means to make them sensible of the partiality of Sigismund's sentence. They had acted, indeed, but very coolly in favour of Eric, and refused to furnish him with the succours stipulated by the treaty. For it was rather their interest to promote the aggrandizement of a few petty princes, than to add to the already overgrown power of a neighbouring monarch. They resolved, therefore, to come to a rupture with Denmark, and to conclude an alliance with Holstein. But before they declared war, they sent a deputation to the king in the name of the whole confederacy, exhorting him to conclude a peace with Holstein, and to put an end to a destructive war, which interrupted their commerce. The king made answer, that he was ready to stand by the emperor's decision; an answer, which the Vandalic cities considered as a declaration of war.

King Eric
attacks Sles-
wick.

The Hanse
towns declare
war against
Denmark.

MEAN time, Eric entered the duchy of Sleswick with a powerful army, and laid siege to the capital of that name, as also to the town of Gottorp. Both sieges were pushed on with great vigour, and the towns would, in all probability, have been obliged to surrender, had not Eric suddenly decamped, upon receiving letters from the Hanse towns, containing a declaration of war. This declaration was received like a clap of thunder by the pusillanimous monarch; he immediately dropped his design against Sleswick and Gottorp, and returned in the utmost panic to his own dominions. Thus about twenty towns of moderate extent, at a considerable distance from each other, incapable of acting in concert, and inhabited by artisans and merchants, by their menaces awed and intimidated the
chief

chief of those formidable nations, which even in separate tribes had subdued the Roman empire.

THE first effect of this precipitate retreat, was the loss of the isle of Femeren, where the troops of Holstein surprized the fortress of Glambeck. Another important fort, called Wittspang, which the king had erected within some distance of Flensburg, was also taken and razed to the ground. The king, in the mean time, wrote circular letters to the Hanse towns in his own vindication, with a view of stirring up the inhabitants against their magistrates. He represented to those people, that the senate, by promoting a war against Denmark, had sacrificed the commerce and real interests of the confederate cities to private considerations; that, in consequence of this war, the merchants and traders in the several Vandalic ports, would be excluded from all commerce with his subjects, and so advantageous a traffick inevitably fall into the hands of other nations*.

King Eric intimidated by the Hanse towns.

He writes a circular letter to the Hanse towns.

THE stratagem succeeded so well, that the towns of Rostock and Wismar, in particular, were thrown into a terrible combustion. In Wismar, the citizens rose up in arms, in order to call their magistrates to an account. They began with chusing sixty state inquisitors, who deposed the senate, and beheaded two of the principal members of that venerable body. Their names were John Bantschow and Henry Von Haaren, both of them highly extolled for their public and private virtues. The children of those worthy magistrates applied for justice to the duchess regent of Mecklenburg, and to the emperor. The duchess, in order to quell these disturbances, was obliged to consent to a change of the senate. This condescension was owing to the private views of the prime minister, who was indebted in considerable sums to several of the riotous citizens. In order to get rid of this incumbrance, he made duke Henry, at that time only eight years of age, take a journey with him to Wismar. Here he availed himself of the name and authority of the prince, to put the new senate, chosen by the rioters,

Disturbances created by that letter in Rostock and Wismar.

The burghers of Wismar depose their magistrates.

* Crantzius, Latomus, Buckholtz, Franck, Pontan, Mallet.

into

into their office ; a step that does no honour to the memory of that minister, and points out the reason why the affair was referred to the emperor's decision. Thus is the welfare of a nation oftentimes sacrificed to the private interests of those, whom the prince has been so unhappy as to entrust with the helm of government.

The emperor
compels the
citizens of
Wismar to
submit.

SIGISMUND, who was then possessed of the Imperial crown, laid the town of Wismar under the ban, the terrible consequences of which were sufficient to bring the burghers to their due obedience. In case of contumacy, the execution of the ban was committed to the dukes of Mecklenburg, and to the city of Lubeck. An accommodation was, however, effected by the cities of Lubeck, Hamburg, Luneburg, and Stralsund ; and the town of Wismar was preserved from ruin. The conditions of its submission, how severe soever they might appear in those days, seem at this present juncture to be very easy, and, in some measure, ludicrous. 1. A solemn supplication, on both knees, was to be made to the relations of the two magistrates beheaded. 2. Pompous obsequies were also to be performed in honour of their memory. 3. Two hundred married women and virgins were to offer up prayers for the souls of the deceased. 4. Three burghers were to perform a pilgrimage, one to Rome, the other to St. Jago, and the third to St. Eobald in Swisserland, in order to obtain absolution. 5. On the place where the murder of the senators had been committed, a monument was to be erected, which should perpetuate the infamy of that barbarous procedure. 6. A chapel was ordered to be built, as an atonement to the Deity for the sin of rebellion. 7. The town was to pay a fine of six hundred Rhenish gilders, in consideration of which it should continue in possession of all its rights and privileges. So slight a punishment for so heinous a crime, may naturally occasion some surprize ; but it is to be observed, that the emperor Sigismund, as well as his father Charles IV. had a singular regard for the Imperial cities, having received great assistance from those corporations ; when Sigismund vouchsafed to honour them with a visit, they omitted no elegance,

gance, however expensive, that could contribute to his entertainment and diversion *.

AN insurrection of the like nature happened at the same time at Rostock, in which city a court of sixty inquisitors was also chosen in opposition to the senate; but the magistrates made their escape betimes, and fled to the duchess regent for assistance. Mean while they were all deposed by the turbulent citizens, and new members elected in their stead. The duchess, offended at this proceeding, had formed a resolution to surprize the town with a body of troops, but was prevented by William, prince of Werle, who gave notice of her design to the inhabitants. The motive that might have induced that prince to act so treacherous a part, we cannot, at this distance of time, pretend to assign; but that it was a compassionate regard for the distracted citizens, as well as a desire to prevent the effusion of blood, and the ruin of a beautiful town, does not appear probable: for even if the town had been taken by surprize, it would have sustained but very little damage, as the dukes of Mecklenburg were greatly interested in its preservation: and with regard to the privileges of the inhabitants, they were now so well established, that the dukes could not abolish them without the emperor's consent. It is more likely, that having imbibed the prejudices of his ancestors, he was upon unfriendly terms with the ducal line, and therefore might be the more ready to obstruct their interests. It is also to be observed, that his disposition must have been greatly soured by the compact of inheritance between the two branches; in consequence of which he was debarred from bequeathing his dominions to his daughters, and found himself obliged to leave them to the dukes, for whom he had no affection.

THE deposed senate applied for redress to the emperor Sigismund, and to the council of Basil †. The latter proceeded by

* Crantz. Chemn. Latom. Lindenberg, Beehr, Franck. Hubner.

† This assembly was convened in 1431, in consequence of the resolutions of the council of Constance, that such meetings should be frequently held, in order to reform both the head and members of the church, which the council of Constance had not been able to effect.

Disturbances
at Rostock.

1431.
The magistrates apply for aid to the emperor, and the council of Basil.

the spiritual arms of excommunication against the town; the former put it under the ban of the empire. It could not but be highly agreeable to the fathers of Basil to see their authority increased by disputes of this kind; and, at the same time, an honour paid them, to which the popes alone had hitherto aspired. But that was a period when princes were, almost, implicitly governed by spiritual directors. It was considered as a very edifying example, that an assembly of some hundreds of prelates should submit to so troublesome an inquiry. May it not therefore be reckoned a mistake in some writers to imagine, that the Imperial ban was sufficient to make the city of Rostock return to its duty? The inhabitants, it is true, did not seem to take much notice, at first, of the excommunication, nor of the decree of council, by which the university was also taken away from them, and removed to Grypswalde. Nay, they obliged many of the priests to continue their duty, and inflicted a punishment on those who withdrew from danger. But the ban struck such a terror into the whole city, that, by the mediation of the Hanse towns, they came to an agreement with the old senate, by which the latter were restored to their former dignity. The Rostockers however were treated with more indulgence than the burghers of Wismar, being permitted to retain their new magistrates; so that, for a considerable time after, there were eight burgomasters in that city. The excommunication and Imperial ban were taken off in 1440, and the university restored in 1443. The removal of this seminary of learning to Grypswalde, was, doubtless, the cause that the latter likewise obtained the honour of being erected into a university. The Rostockers were much displeased with the desertion of their academicians, and in revenge withheld their revenue; so that some of the professorships were afterwards abolished, and the salaries of others much curtailed; but after the reformation they received a better endowment*.

* Ibid.

BUT to return to king Eric; though he had done some mischief by his circular letters, yet he reaped no benefit himself from these disturbances. Early in the spring of 1427, the cities of the Hanseatic confederacy sent a powerful fleet to sea, which committed dreadful ravages on the coast of Denmark. It was commanded by Gerard, count of Holstein, whose brother Henry being, at the same time, at the head of a numerous army, laid siege to Flensburg. This prince acting rather with the bravery of a common soldier, than with the caution of a general, was slain by the shot of an arrow from the town. The besiegers hearing of the death of their commander, were seized with a panic, and endeavoured to save themselves by flight. In the mean while, the Danish fleet met with some success at sea, having the good fortune to defeat a squadron of the Hanseatic ships, which cruised in the Sound, and to seize several merchant vessels richly laden. Notwithstanding these advantages, king Eric was still desirous of coming to an accommodation with the Hanse towns, whose resources he considered as inexhaustible. With this pacific purpose he applied once more to the emperor Sigismund, who thought himself piqued in honour to conclude this affair, and see the former sentence properly executed. A negotiation was therefore set on foot, but proved ineffectual. The ensuing year hostilities were renewed by sea and land. The Hanseatic fleet carried terror and desolation into Schonen and Norway, where they set fire to the town of Landskroon, and made themselves masters of Bergues. On the other hand, the land forces under the command of Gerard, count of Holstein, and William, duke of Brunswick, marched into North Jutland, and reduced the whole country to a desert by their ravages.

1427.
The war between Denmark and the Hanse towns continued.

1428.

The year following, Philippa, queen of Denmark, sister to our celebrated hero Henry V. fitted out a considerable squadron, in hopes of surprising the Hanseatic fleet in the harbour of Stralsund; but the expedition miscarried, and the Danes were entirely defeated. The king laid the blame of this misfortune upon the queen, and is said to have used her with some indignity: this was the cause of her retiring to a monastery, where

1429.

Death of the
queen of
Denmark.

she died, soon after, of a broken heart. She was a princess of most amiable qualifications; and her death was greatly lamented by her disconsolate subjects.

1430.
Peace con-
cluded.

TOWARDS the beginning of the next year, the cities of Stralsund and Rostock, wearied out with a tedious and destructive war, thought proper to conclude a separate peace with Denmark. Negotiations were, at the same time, set on foot for accommodating matters with the other cities; but they proved abortive: and it was not till the year 1432 that the Hanse towns, observing the great improvements which the Hollanders had made in their commerce, by means of the disturbances of the North, shewed themselves desirous of putting an end to hostilities. With this view a negotiation was begun at Horfen, to which they sent their deputies: here a truce was concluded for five years, and a free trade mutually permitted. The next year a congress met at Swinburg, but nothing was concluded.

1432.

1433.

1435.

At length the Swedes having begun to throw off the Danish yoke, king Eric, apprehensive of the danger of contending with such a number of enemies, thought proper to sign a definitive peace with Holstein and the Hanseatic cities. In virtue of this treaty, the towns of Lubeck, Hamburg, Luneburg, and Wismar, were restored to all their former privileges and franchises in the three kingdoms; and, particularly, they obtained the liberty of fishing on the coast of Schonen*.

1431.
Compact of
inheritance
with Saxe-
Lawenburg.

In the midst of these transactions, the duchess regent of Mecklenburg concluded a compact of inheritance with the house of Saxe-Lawenburg. To this treaty duke John VII. the father of our princes, had given a beginning; and it was at length brought to a conclusion by the present administration. The negotiation was set on foot, and brought to an issue, with duke Bernard II. of Saxe-Lawenburg, uncle to the duchess regent†.

1426.
Line of
Werle ex-
tinct.

Soon after this negotiation, the line of Werle became extinct by the death of prince William; and the duchess, in the

* Crantz. Pontan. Puffendorff, Mallet, Franck.

† Beehr.

behalf of her sons, took possession of that principality. As she was the widow of prince John XI. of Gustrow, who died without issue in 1414; it is to be presumed, that she cultivated a good understanding with the states of Wenden, and thereby secured the possession of that country to her sons, against every other pretender. The right of the ducal line to this inheritance, was grounded partly on consanguinity and the received custom of both branches, and partly on the family compact. But as the dukes of Stargard had an equal right in blood, it became necessary to satisfy those princes, and to make them some allowance for the equity of their claim. After some disputes she came to an agreement with these princes, in 1439, by virtue of which they acquired Stavenhagen and Wredenhagen as an equivalent. This is not to be understood of those two towns alone, but also of the territory belonging to them, and which had been subject to the former lords of Werle. During the whole course of this negotiation, the duchess displayed extraordinary abilities, and had the satisfaction of terminating a most intricate affair, without any effusion of blood, to the advantage and interest of her children. The states of Wenden having, during this dispute, embraced the ducal party, availed themselves of the opportunity to obtain a confirmation of all their privileges: among the rest it was particularly mentioned, that this principality should never more be dismembered*.

BUT there was still another, and more formidable, pretender to this succession; namely, the elector of Brandenburg of the present branch of Hohen-Zollern. We should, by the way, take notice that, together with the electorate, Frederick I. was invested with all the feudal claims and pretensions of his predecessors to any part of the country of Mecklenburg, or to Pomerania. Hence it was, that in support of those claims he waged war directly with the Pomeranians, who were not so tractable as the princes of the house of Mecklenburg. The particulars of that war are foreign to our history: but their dispute with

Dispute with
Brandenburg
about the
succession of
Werle.

* Beehr, Franck, Kluver.

The dispute
amicably set-
tled.

Compact of
inheritance
with Bran-
denburg.

the house of Mecklenburg deserves all our attention. The ducal line acknowledged no other jurisdiction but that of the head of the empire; but the lords of Werle, and, particularly, prince Balthazar, had been obliged to pay homage to the elector Frederick I. for some districts of his dominions. This it was that gave rise to the claim, which the elector of that name laid to the principality of Werle, upon the extinction of that branch. However, the dispute concerning this succession was not determined by force of arms; but the contending parties thought proper to refer it to the arbitration of the emperor Sigismund. This instance of moderation does great honour to both houses, and is, perhaps, the first and only one of the kind, that a contest, of such importance, betwixt two such powerful families, was happily decided without bloodshed. Particular circumstances contributed to this amicable decision of that famous contest. The war, which had been carried on by Matthias Axkow against the electorate of Brandenburg, during the minority of the two dukes, was happily concluded in 1426, by a treaty of alliance and friendship between the two families. To cement this alliance, the princess of Brandenburg was betrothed to duke Henry, and the nuptials were afterwards celebrated in 1436. Such a concurrence of circumstances must have been naturally productive of a good understanding betwixt the two courts, which rendered them the more willing to determine the dispute about the succession of Werle in an amicable manner. At length this affair was settled by the treaty or convention of Wittstock in 1442. In virtue of that agreement, the principality of Werle or Wenden remained in possession of the dukes of Mecklenburgh; but, at the same time, a compact of inheritance was concluded between the two families; and the house of Brandenburg obtained the right of succession * to the whole country of Mecklenburg †.

* The compact of inheritance is given at length in Westphal. Diplom. Mecklenb. tom. 4.

† Chemn. Beehr, Kluver, Hubner, Stevern.

DURING this dispute, two emperors departed this life, Sigismund I. and Albert II. The former died at Znaim in Moravia, in 1437, after appointing his son-in-law Albert, duke of Austria, his universal heir. With him ended the race of emperors of the house of Lutzelburg. After his decease, the Imperial crown was conferred on Albert II. duke of Austria, and continued in that family till its extinction in 1740. Albert reigned but one year : having indulged himself in eating a great quantity of fruit, he was attacked with a violent dysentery, which put an end to his days in 1439. The electors assembling at Frankfort in 1440, unanimously agreed to fill the vacant throne with Frederick III. of Austria, surnamed the Pacific, and cousin german of his predecessor Albert *. But to return to the affairs of Mecklenburg.

Death of the emperor Sigismund,

and of Albert II.

THE duchess regent having settled the succession of Werle to her satisfaction, resigned the government to her sons, who were now grown to years of maturity. At the same time expired the power of her minister, Matthias Axkow, after he had been the cause of subjecting the whole country of Mecklenburg to the anathemas of the council of Basil. A violent quarrel between Axkow and the clergy gave occasion to this severe censure. Axkow having a dispute with some of the tenants of the dean and chapter of Lubeck, ordered them to be arrested : the cause of that dispute we do not find specified ; but it appears, that the dean and chapter applied to the duchess for the enlargement of the prisoners. The application, however, proved ineffectual, the minister being in such favour with the duchess, that she would agree to no terms whatever without his consent. The bishop of Lubeck being apprized of the affair, advised the making reprisals on Axkow, who was then performing a pilgrimage in Switzerland, not far from Basil, where the bishop then assisted at the council. Accordingly Axkow was arrested. In revenge for this affront, the friends of that minister laid hands on a priest belonging to Lubeck, and sent him to prison. The priest died in confinement, which gave such offence to the fa-

The duchess resigns the government to her sons.

The council of Basil excommunicates the country of Mecklenburg.

* Puffendorff, Heisse, Pfeffel.

thers assembled at Basil, that they thundered out the sentence of excommunication against the whole country of Mecklenburg. With some difficulty the duchess obtained absolution for herself and subjects; but the anathema still continued against Axkow and all his adherents. At length the affair was compromised, and Axkow, upon paying a considerable fine, and founding a chapel to pray for the soul of the deceased priest, was set at liberty, and absolved. He died in 1445, and was interred at Dobberan. His arms are engraved on his tombstone, with this inscription: "A. D. 1445, in vigilia B. Johannis O. D. "Matthias Axkove hujus ecclesiæ amicus *."

1440.
Printing in-
vented.

ABOUT this time the German nation acquired immortal honour by the invention of the typographical art. The author of this most noble and useful invention, was John Guttemberg, a gentleman of Mentz †, who first conceived an idea of the art, but was obliged to the assistance of John Faust and Schoeffer in carrying it into execution. Faust was a man of property in that city, and Schoeffer his domestic, who afterwards rose to be his son-in-law. Their first essay was to cut letters on wooden blocks, by which means they printed a Latin vocabulary, called the Catholicon, about the year 1450. But as these blocks could serve only for a single page, the work was extremely irksome and tedious; so that they afterwards had recourse to moveable types, which were at first of wood, but Schoeffer carried the art to its perfection, by making them of cast-metal. We cannot tell, for a certainty, what book they first printed; the oldest we know of is a Latin Psalter, in quarto, of the year 1457; the next is Durand's Rationale, in folio, of the year 1459; the third the Catholicon, of 1460; the fourth the Bi-

* Crantzius, Latomus, Chemnitz, Buckholtz, Franck.

† John Mentel, a citizen of Strasburg, is also mentioned as the first inventor in 1447; but this fact is not so well attested. It is certain that the first impressions, with dates, bear the name only of Faust and Schoeffer. Lawrence Kuster, a citizen of Harlem, had made use of typography before this time, but his types were only engraved on wooden blocks, after the method which is said to have been long practised by the Chinese.

ble,

ble, 1462. All these were printed at Mentz, by Faust and Schoeffer, who likewise published Cicero's Offices, in 1466. From thence this useful discovery soon spread itself over all Europe, and by it the state of literature was for ever settled upon a firm and immovable basis *.

THE same year in which the convention of Wittstock was concluded, duke John VIII. breathed his last, at twenty-three years of age, after having been six years associated in the administration with his brother. His wife was Anne, princess of Pomerania, by whom he had only a daughter, named Anne, who was afterwards married to Wratislaus, duke of Pomerania. By the death of the above prince, the government fell intirely into the hands of his brother, duke Henry, who distinguished his administration by preserving peace and order among his subjects, and suppressing the outrages of public robbers. Yet the wars which he waged against Pomerania, lasted the greatest part of his reign, being often suspended by cessations of arms, especially when the Pomeranians were attacked by the elector of Brandenburg.

1442.
Death of
duke John
VIII.

Administra-
tion of duke
Henry.

THE dispute between Pomerania and Brandenburg was owing to the following cause. Otho III. duke of Stettin, happening to die without issue male, Frederick II. elector of Brandenburg, laid claim to the succession in virtue of ancient compacts of inheritance. On the other hand, Eric II. and Wratislaus X. dukes of Pomerania, put in their claim also, as nearest male relations to the dukes of Stettin. After various attempts to settle the affair by the means of negotiation, the several competitors had recourse to arms, and were supported in their pretensions by their friends and allies. The dukes of Mecklenburg and Stargard espoused the cause of the elector of Brandenburg, and the war lasted many years with various success. But the circumstances of these wars are too inconsiderable to deserve a place in this history, as they proceed no farther than skirmishes, and the plundering of cattle. This made the Pomeranians vilify duke Henry, by giving him the oppro-

Cause of the
war between
Pomerania
and Bran-
denburg.

* Barre, Pfeffel.

bricious appellation of Cow-stealer*. It is said that Joachim, duke of Pomerania, used frequently to express his surprize at the number of cows-hides taken in those incursions by the Mecklenburghers. He found it difficult to comprehend to what use duke Henry could apply them. There is no doubt but, at that time, Pomerania had very little specie; so that the enemy, finding no hopes of contributions in money, confined their hostilities to the plundering of cattle †.

Dispute with
Lubeck.

DUKE Henry had some disputes in 1443 with the city of Lubeck, occasioned by the depredations and outrages of the banditti, with whom some of the duke's household officers held a private correspondence. Several waggons loaded with goods, were plundered on the road from Frankfort to Lubeck, by robbers who hovered on the borders of Prignitz and Mecklenburg. The violences of these banditti the Lubeckers imputed to the duke's connivance, which made them prepare to invade the territory of Mecklenburg. But this troublesome affair was happily accommodated by a treaty in the village of Slukup, not far from Lubeck, and part of the plunder was restored to the lawful proprietors. As a considerable quantity of it consisted in pepper, the Mecklenburghers were, for a long time, called Piperarii, or Pepper-men. The duke himself was an enemy to all violence and rapine: and, indeed, during his whole reign, he acted with such vigour against the banditti, that, at length, he had almost exterminated that detestable confederacy ‡.

1451.
Dreadful
pestilence.

THIS year a dreadful plague broke out in Mecklenburg, which swept away great numbers of the inhabitants. It is said, that in the Vandalic cities alone, above a hundred thousand men were destroyed by this fatal scourge, and that the people died as fast as the leaves fall from the trees in autumn §.

Disturbances
in Sweden
and Den-
mark.

DURING the disturbances on the side of Pomerania, great revolutions had happened in Denmark and Sweden. The Swedes, dissatisfied with king Eric for not observing the oath

* Hubner. † Crantz. Latom. Chemn. Micrael, Franck.

‡ Crantzius, Franck, Buckholtz.

§ Ibid.

he made at his coronation, to govern according to the laws of the realm, resolved to throw off the Danish yoke. On the other hand, the Danes also withdrew their allegiance from the same prince, whom they charged with wasting too much of his time in the isle of Gothland, so as to neglect the affairs of the kingdom. This induced the states of Denmark to offer the crown to Christopher, duke of Bavaria, nephew to king Eric, and grandson of Mary of Mecklenburg, the daughter of Henry Susensor. Thus was this unfortunate prince stripped of three kingdoms, and obliged, in 1439, to withdraw to Pomerania, where he spent the remainder of his days in the tranquility of philosophical retirement. During his abdication, he amused himself with composing a chronological history of the kings of Denmark, from the beginning of the monarchy to the year 1288*.

CHRISTOPHER III. son of John, duke of Bavaria, by his wife Sophia, sister to Eric, king of Denmark, accepted of the invitation of the Danish senate, and was declared sovereign of the three kingdoms. After he had settled the affairs of government at home, he began to turn his thoughts to foreign concerns. Among these, the object which chiefly engaged his attention, was to reduce the over-grown power of the Hanse towns, and particularly that of the city of Lubeck. Whether he thought it necessary for the welfare of his subjects, to check the insolence of those republicans, who by their extensive commerce were become lords of the sea, or whether he was actuated, on this occasion, by private motives of revenge, he planned a scheme for humbling those haughty merchants; in the executing of which, he wanted the assistance of a few German princes. As a means of engaging those princes to enter into his views, he appointed a meeting at Wilsnac, a small town subject to the elector of Brandenburg. In order to meet the confederates without giving any umbrage to the Hanse towns, Christopher put on the habit of a pilgrim, and taking

Christopher,
duke of Ba-
varia, elected
king of Den-
mark.

1443.

* Mr. Mallet denies this prince to have been the author of that history; but the general opinion is against him.

Lubeck in his way, arrived safe at Wilsnac. At this meeting were present Frederick II. elector of Brandenburg; Henry, duke of Mecklenburg; Otho, William, and Henry, dukes of Brunswick, with several other princes. But this congress proved of no effect, Adolphus, count of Holstein, refusing to enter into the king's measures, or to be concerned in an enterprise which he found no way conducive to his own interest.

1447.
Christopher's
designs a-
gainst the
city of Lu-
beck.

KING Christopher, not at all disconcerted with this disappointment, resolved to wait for another opportunity of restraining the insolence of the Hanse towns. With this view he collected a numerous fleet, by seizing upon the English and Dutch vessels in the Sound, and enriching himself with their spoils. This step, however, is ascribed to the rapaciousness of those nations who, being now grown rivals of the Hanseatic cities, would fain usurp, as the Danish writers pretend, the exclusive commerce of the North*. But the Danish monarch, before he had recourse to force, was resolved to make use of a stratagem, in hopes of surprizing the town of Lubeck. To prevent any suspicion of his design, he first repaired to Rostock, where the inhabitants received him, and his attendants, with great marks of reverence. He then drew near to Lubeck, and fixed his quarters at Heiligenhaven, the twenty-second of October, 1447. Soon after his arrival in this neighbourhood, under pretence of holding a conference with the magistrates, he desired admittance into the town, with his numerous retinue. The magistrates prudently declined admitting such dangerous guests within their walls; a precaution which saved their city from destruction. While the proposal was in agitation, there happened an adventure which totally disconcerted the king's project. A number of German princes had entered into an agreement with the king, to wait for him at Lubeck, in order

* This difference between the Danes and the English continued till the year 1450, when a treaty of peace was concluded between Christian I. and Henry VI. by which the English merchants were deprived of the liberty of trading to Iceland, Finmarck, Helgeland, &c. This treaty we find in Rymer's Fœdera, tom. II. and in Du Mont, tom. III.

to support his measures at the pretended conference. These princes are said to have introduced a quantity of arms into Lubeck, by concealing them in hogheads intended to hold wine. A number of soldiers, disguised in different forms within the town, were to make use of those arms, as soon as ever they heard the signal of the king's being arrived with a body of troops in the neighbourhood. But a house happening, at this very juncture, to take fire, the German princes, and the soldiers of that nation, imagining this to be the signal, flocked in crouds to the gates, and discovered their arms. The burghers took care to stop them, and to inquire into the reason of this behaviour. The Germans in vain endeavoured to palliate the design, under a pretence of lending assistance, after the manner of their country, in case of fire. This would not satisfy the inhabitants; the strangers were all turned out of the town; and thus a catastrophe was prevented, which might have proved destructive to the Hanseatic confederacy.

THE king was not at all disconcerted with this miscarriage. He now determined to have recourse to open force, since he had no longer any prospect of succeeding by stratagem. But another unexpected event preserved the Hanse towns once more from ruin. He had assembled the states of Sweden at Jonkoping, and was set out upon his journey to that kingdom, in order to concert farther measures for humbling the Hanse towns, when death surprized him on the sixth of January, 1448, at Helsingburg. The great treasure he had amassed, made people imagine, that he had determined to abdicate the throne, and to retire into Germany, after the example of his predecessor: but he removed this suspicion himself in his last hours, by a declaration on his death-bed. As he died without issue, the states of the kingdom unanimously agreed to confer the crown on Adolphus, duke of Sleswick, and count of Holstein, in hopes of uniting those provinces for ever to the crown of Denmark. But Adolphus consulting the good of his subjects, whose interests could not but be absorbed in the superior weight of Den-

1448.
Death of
Christopher
III. king of
Denmark.

Accession of
the house of
Oldenburg.

mark, declined the offer with a moderation and disinterestedness altogether uncommon among princes. At the same time he recommended his nephew Christian, second son of Theodorick, count of Oldenburg, a prince bred up at the court of Adolphus. The proposition being agreeable to the senate, that young prince was, without delay, elected king by the Danes and Norwegians, by the name of Christian I. and these two kingdoms have ever since continued in his family*.

Affairs of
Sweden.

AFTER the decease of Christopher of Bavaria, the Swedes chose another king for themselves, Charles Canutson, great marshal of the crown. This was productive of a war between the two nations, by which the unhappy kingdom of Sweden was brought to the brink of destruction. Charles having, by his haughty behaviour, incensed the nobility, particularly the spiritual lords, was compelled by John, archbishop of Upsal, to retire to Prussia: whereupon Christian I. was crowned king of Sweden in 1458. But the Swedes being dissatisfied with his administration, recalled Canutson in 1463, and the war was renewed between the two kingdoms. Charles Canutson, after being restored in 1464, was once more obliged to resign the crown, by the archbishop of Lunden. Nils Sture, and Eric Axelson, two of the chief nobility of Sweden, formed a party against the archbishop; by means of which, Canutson was a third time seated on the throne in 1468: yet the kingdom was distracted with civil wars during the remainder of his reign; for he had little more than the title of king, and the bishops and lords still retained an absolute authority over their numerous vassals. This prince died at Stockholm in 1470; and his sister's son, Steen Sture, was declared administrator of the kingdom. Christian, king of Denmark, being determined to assert his right to the crown of Sweden, appeared with a considerable fleet before the city of Stockholm, and landed a body of troops near an eminence called Brunckenburg, of which he made himself master. Here the Danes were attacked by Steen Sture, and totally routed. The king return-

* Pontan, Meurs, Puffendorff, Crantzius, Mallet.

ed with his shattered forces to the coast of Denmark, and from that time gave up all thoughts of prosecuting his rights to the crown of Sweden. These transactions of the two northern crowns we have thrown into one point of view, for the sake of historical perspicuity; we shall now come to some intermediate occurrences on the side of Holstein and Denmark, in which Henry, duke of Mecklenburg, happened to be nearly concerned.

In the year 1459 died without issue male, Adolphus, duke of Sleswick, and count of Holstein and Stormar, the king of Denmark's maternal uncle. The duchy of Sleswick reverted incontestably to the crown of Denmark; but there was some difficulty concerning the succession to Holstein and Stormar. Otho, count of Schawenburg, and his eight sons, distant relations of the late duke Adolphus, were the only heirs of the male line. The king, however, prepared to assert his pretensions by force of arms, when the affair was happily accommodated by the interposition of the bishop of Lubeck. Holstein and Stormar were ceded to the Danish monarch, on condition of his paying the sum of forty thousand ducats to Otho, count of Schawenburg, and giving satisfaction to his brothers, Gerard and Maurice. Not long after this transaction the king's brothers came to a rupture, both laying claim to the county of Delmenhorst upon the death of their uncle duke Adolphus. The king espoused the interest of Gerard, and by his mediation the brothers were reconciled. Maurice dying within two or three years after that event, a violent dispute arose between king Christian and count Gerard, who demanded a large sum of the king as heir and executor to Maurice their brother. Christian being then employed in the affairs of Sweden, Gerard had recourse to arms in order to maintain his right. Accordingly he entered the country of Holstein with a body of troops, and surprized several of the strong holds, taking upon himself the title of governor of Holstein. To settle this difference, the king convened a diet at Kiel, where he attended in person. Upon his promising to pay the money contended for,

or

Affairs of
Holstein.

1465.

1466.

or to give an equivalent in land, the two princes were reconciled for that time. Christian, imagining he had satisfied his brother, was soon after surprized to hear that Gerard had seized upon Hufum, and was in hourly expectation of being joined by the East Friselanders, whom he had excited to revolt. The king was highly incensed at this fresh instance of treachery in his brother. He plainly perceived, that the more he granted him, the more insatiable was his ambition. He, therefore, determined to head an army in person in order to chastise the rebels. At the same time he applied for assistance to his allies, whom the behaviour of count Gerard had also offended. On this occasion, duke Henry of Mecklenburg sent a strong body of forces to join the king's army. Gerard, hearing of Christian's approach with a superior force, fled with precipitation, and left the Friselanders at the mercy of their provoked sovereign. The king, indeed, shewed them mercy, and only punished the ringleaders of that rebellion*.

1461.
Disturbances
in the Hanse
towns.

CHRISTIAN I. had displayed his moderation on another occasion, in taking possession of the counties of Holstein and Stormar, upon the death of Adolphus, duke of Sleswic. As he received the oath of allegiance from his vassals, he likewise demanded homage from the city of Hamburg, which is situated within the jurisdiction of Stormar. But upon a representation from the magistrates, that his predecessors had been satisfied with a promise of obedience, without ever taking an oath, he desisted from his demand. Such an instance of moderation in king Christian, was the occasion of his being chosen arbitrator to compose the disturbances in several of the Hanse towns, which first broke out in the city of Luneburg. The magistrates of that place, observing the inconveniency of the public debt, thought proper to ease the people by applying some of the effects of the church to discharge the incumbrance. This proceeding gave great offence to the bishops of Schwerin and Lubeck, and upon a representation to the pope, the senate and inhabitants were laid under ecclesiastical censure. The thunder

* Pentau. Meurf. Puffend. Mallet, Beehr.

of the Vatican threw the city of Luneburg into a combustion, the inhabitants rose up in arms, deposed the magistrates, and substituted others in their stead. The like violences were committed by the seditious burghers in Lubeck and Hamburg. Christian I. happening then to reside at Reinfelden, in the county of Holstein, was chosen mediator for the reconciling of those differences. The king accepted of the mediation; and, by his good offices, a perfect reconciliation ensued between the people and the clergy of the Hanse towns.

WE come now to one of the last scenes of this famous monarch's life, in which he acted by the assistance and advice of a prince of the house of Mecklenburg. Having made a vow to undertake a pilgrimage to Rome, he set out upon his journey in 1474, attended by the dukes of Saxony and Lawenburg. In his way he paid a visit to the emperor Frederick III. at Rothenburg, and obtained of that prince, that the counties of Holstein and Stormar, with the country of the Ditmarsians, should be formed into one state by the title of the duchy of Holstein: at the same time the emperor invested Christian with this whole country in the usual form. From thence he pursued his route to Rome, where he was received with extraordinary distinction by pope Sixtus IV. Upon his return, hearing of the operations of the armies on the Rhine, he went out of his way in order to reconcile the contending parties. The nobility of the electorate of Cologne had refused to obey their sovereign, Robert of Bavaria, who would fain resume the lands which his predecessors had alienated from the archiepiscopal demesne. The chapter deposed the elector, and substituted in his room, Herman, landgrave of Hesse. Robert, the elector, put himself under the protection of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, who undertook to bring the chapter to reason. With this view Charles laid siege to Nuys, a small town in the bishopric of Cologne, situated on the banks of the Rhine. The town was defended with great valour by Herman, for the space of a whole year, when the garrison was reduced to the last extremity. The emperor Frederick, alarmed at the ambitious

1472.
King Christian mediator
between the
emperor Frederick III.
and Charles
the Bold.
1474.

Holstein
made a duchy.

Disturbance
in the Hanse
towns

projects of the duke of Burgundy, declared war against that prince, after entering into a strict alliance with Lewis XI. king of France. Albert, elector of Brandenburg, commanded the Imperial forces; Albert, elector of Saxony, bore the standard of the empire; and the whole army encamped in the neighbourhood of Nuys, in order to watch the motions of the besiegers. At the same time a body of Swiss troops had penetrated into Franche Comté, and Lewis XI. invaded Picardy. In this situation of affairs, Christian offered his mediation, which was accepted, to the duke of Burgundy and the emperor, in order to prevent the effusion of human blood. The Danish monarch, being well apprized of the great penetration and political abilities of duke Magnus II. son of Henry, duke of Mecklenburg, thought proper to invite that prince to the Imperial camp upon the Rhine, in order to make use of his counsel and advice in this important negotiation. Duke Magnus accordingly complied with the invitation; and after some time spent in conferences, an accommodation at length ensued between the duke of Burgundy and the emperor. The former engaged to pay the latter two hundred thousand crowns, and to marry his daughter to the archduke Maximilian. The affair of Cologne was referred to the pope's decision, the emperor returning to Austria, and Christian I. to Denmark*.

Duke Magnus of Mecklenburg employed in the negotiation between the emperor and Charles the Bold.

Insurrection at Wismar.

SUCH were the foreign transactions, in which the house of Mecklenburg had any concerns, in duke Henry's reign; we shall now take a view of what passed in the duke's own territories, or those of the neighbouring princes. In the year 1462, an insurrection happened at Wismar, on account of a burgomaster, who was accused of having forged some letters, but to what purpose is not mentioned. The citizens, not satisfied with this magistrate's defence, began to be riotous, when he thought proper, for the safety of his person, to retire to Lubeck. The burgomaster's son, a canon of Schwerin, interposed in the quarrel, and committed some open violences against the Wismarians. In the midst of these transactions he was taken pri-

* Pontan. Meurs. Commynes, Beehr, Franck, Heisse, Barre.

soner,

soner, but had the good fortune, soon after, to make his escape. So prudently did duke Henry conduct himself on this occasion, that these flames of discord were stifled before they could spread to any considerable distance. The burgomaster was restored, and all animosities subsided *.

THE ensuing year an affair happened at Grevsmuhlen, in Mecklenburg, the relation of which will, perhaps, recreate the mind of the reader long occupied with events of a serious nature. Marinus a Fregano, legate from pope Pius II. to the northern kingdoms, had been very active in collecting great sums of money, which gave rise to heavy complaints, being extorted from the poor and the ignorant. But it is a trite observation, that the advantages of ill got wealth are seldom permanent. Part of this treasure, which the legate deposited with some merchants of Lubeck, in order to have it forwarded to Frankfort upon the Maine, was seized upon by William the Warlike, duke of Brunswick; and a considerable portion was demanded back by Casimir III. king of Poland, and Christian I. king of Denmark. The legate, notwithstanding, had saved a great share of it, and was conveying it from Lubeck to Wismar, when he accidentally dropped a bag in the neighbourhood of Grevsmuhlen, which contained four thousand two hundred and forty florins. The bag was found by a poor woman, who carried it home and gave it to her husband. The man, upon receiving this unexpected supply, immediately paid his debts, bought decent cloaths for himself and his family, furnished his house handsomely, and began to live in an affluence unknown to him before. The neighbours were all greatly surprized, and unable to conceive how he could come by such wealth. Various were the reports and conjectures it gave rise to; at last the affair came to the ears of duke Henry. The duke sent for the man, questioned him concerning the affair, and insisted upon his telling the whole truth. The man ingenuously confessed the fact, and put the remainder of the money into the duke's hands. Marinus the legate, who had

* Crantz. Chemn. Latom.

been disconsolate for the loss of his treasure, hearing of this circumstance, waited upon the duke, and demanded the money, being destined, as he affirmed, by the pope, for defraying the charges of an expedition against the Turks. The duke made answer that he had not been intrusted with the money by the legate, that it had been accidentally found by a person, who squandered it away extravagantly, and that his own officers had neglected to make him refund it into the treasury. Thus were the rapacious views of the legate frustrated; and he had the mortification to return to his master empty-handed.

1467.
Diet of Nuremberg.

Not long after this event, was held a diet at Nuremberg by order of the emperor Frederick III. At this assembly, Henry duke of Mecklenburg, and Ulric, duke of Stargard were present. This diet is remarkable for a treaty of public peace during five years, and for the distribution of the states of the empire into three colleges, those of electors, princes, and cities; for hitherto they had formed only one body in the meetings of the empire*.

1471.
Duke Henry succeeds to the duchy of Stargard.

Duke Ulric died a few years after the diet of Nuremberg, and with him ended the branch of Mecklenburg Stargard†. Immediately upon his decease, the dukedom of that name devolved to duke Henry VI. without any opposition. The duke improved the revenues of this country by the toll of Ribnitz and Grevsmuhlen, which were granted to him by the emperor Frederick III. at the diet of Ratibon. But this gave umbrage to the Lubeckers, who conceived it to be a violation of their privileges; and so strenuously was that innovation opposed by those citizens, that the duke thought proper to desist, and the Lubeckers maintained their ancient rights and freedom of commerce‡.

Tolls of Ribnitz and Grevsmuhlen.

1472.
Congress of Prinslaw.

Duke Henry being now enriched by the inheritance of the duchy of Stargard, exerted himself to the utmost to promote harmony and friendship among his neighbours, and, particularly, to put an end to the inveterate quarrel between the elector of Branden-

* Pfeffel, Barre, Heisse.

† See p. 390.

‡ Crantz. Latom. Chemn. Beehr, Franck.

burg and the duke of Pomerania. With this view he prevailed on those princes and the other neighbouring states to hold a congress at Prinflaw for settling their differences. Frederick II. weary of this tedious contest, had resigned the electorate to his brother Albert, surnamed the Achilles. This prince and his two sons, the two dukes of Pomerania, Henry, duke of Mecklenburg, and his three sons, assisted at that congress. Various methods were proposed on this occasion for terminating the dispute between the two families. The elector insisted that the dukes of Pomerania should hold the duchy of Stettin, as a fief dependent on Brandenburg. The Pomeranian dukes refusing to make this acknowledgment, the congress at that time proved ineffectual. Yet the proposal afterwards took place, and, by a special treaty, the dukes of Pomerania consented to pay homage for that duchy to the elector of Brandenburg*.

DUKE Henry had not long enjoyed the succession of Stargard, when finding his health decline, he began to prepare for futurity. After a reign of forty-four years, he departed this life at Schwerin, on the ninth of March 1477. Contemporaries have not drawn a favourable character of this prince, though he was possessed of many virtues, for which he certainly deserved their encomiums. His regard for religion he shewed, according to the custom of that age, by his pilgrimage to the Holy Land; and his affection for his people, by incessant acts of benevolence. On several instances he had given proofs of undaunted courage; but he had no ambition to purchase fame by harrassing and distressing his neighbours. He greatly increased his dominions, not by the destructive sword, but by a favourable turn of fortune, the extinction of two collateral branches of his family. His corpulence procured him the surname of Pinguis or Fat; whereas duke Henry of Stargard, from an opposite cause, was stiled Henry the Lean. The good case of the former was said to have been owing to his chearful and easy temper; while a diffident disposition in the latter contributed to his emaciated habit of body.

* Crantz. Bechr, Franck, Mem. of the house of Brandenburg.

1477.
Death of
duke Henry
the Fat.

1477.
Duke Henry
succeeded to
the duchy
of Stargard.

Tolls of Rips
and
Grevinham
lan.

1477.
Congress of
Prinflaw.

His charac-
ter.

DUKE Henry's predominant passion was the love of show and magnificence, which led him into extravagance and profuseness of expence. Hence it is, that the greatest part of the princely demesnes were mortgaged or pledged, and in all probability would have been intirely alienated if his sons had not put a stop to this extravagance, by declaring they would not be answerable for any of their father's debts after his decease. This prevented people from lending any farther sums on the demesnes, or on other valuable effects. The prodigality of this prince gave birth, however, to a curious manufacture, that of Bantschow: it consisted of utensils for eating and drinking, such as bowls, cups, dishes, &c. made of wood, and finely gilt, at the village of Bantschow. Duke Henry made use of these instead of his service of plate, which he had been so unlucky as to pledge. His epitaph was written by John Simonius:

“ Corpore crassus eram, non pectore crassus & arte,
“ Ingenium probitas, si qua futura, canet.”

His issue.

HE was married to Dorothea, daughter of Frederick I. elector of Brandenburg, by whom he had five sons and three daughters. The sons were Albert, Magnus, Balthazar, John, and Ulric. The daughters were named Catharine, Anne, and Elizabeth. This was the second matrimonial alliance between the two houses; and if that of duke Albert V. be not admitted, it is the first. Hence it is, that the elector Frederic I. ought to be considered in some measure, on account of his daughter, as the patriarch of the house of Mecklenburg, since that illustrious princess was the stem, or common mother, from whom the present serene family is descended.

OF the five princes, John IX. and Ulric I. died before their father, the latter in infancy, the former grown up to manhood, and betrothed to the princess Sophia of Pomerania, who was afterwards married to his brother duke Magnus. This prince John is said to have died of the plague; but the name of plague appears to have been, in those days, common to every epidemical distemper. Prince Balthazar was of a very studious disposition:

fition: his progress in learning had been so considerable, that in 1467 he was chosen rector of the university of Rostock. In 1470 he was made coadjutor, and soon after bishop of Schwerin. In order to defray the expences of the pope's bulls, he obtained a free gift from the clergy of that diocese. During his administration of that see he made a very laudable regulation, that no person should be possessed of a prebend, who was not, at least, twenty years of age. In 1471 he was also elected to the see of Hildesheim: but meeting here with a competitor, who had been set up by an opposite party of the chapter, and confirmed by the pope, he renounced that bishopric. In 1479 he also resigned the see of Schwerin, in order to have a share in the administration, and to enter into the state of matrimony. The two eldest brothers were Albert VI. and Magnus III. of whom we shall treat hereafter. Of the princesses, Catharine died young; Anna died in 1464 unmarried; and Elizabeth, abbess of Ribnitz, in 1496*.

* Crantz. Latom. Beehr, Buckh. Franck.

C H A P. III.
A L B E R T VI.
M A G N U S III. and
B A L T H A Z A R,
D U K E S of M E C K L E N B U R G.

From 1477 to 1503.

E M P E R O R S of G E R M A N Y,			
F R E D E R I C K III.	-	-	1440.
M A X I M I L I A N I.	-	-	1493.
K I N G S of E N G L A N D,			
E D W A R D IV.	-	-	1461.
E D W A R D V.	-	-	1483.
R I C H A R D III.	-	-	1483.
H E N R Y VII.	-	-	1485.

Duke Henry's sons divide their father's dominions. Death of duke Albert. Joint administration of the surviving brothers. Duke Magnus's pilgrimage to the Holy-land. A new tax, opposed by Rostock. Duke Magnus concludes an alliance against the Hanse towns. Disputes between duke Magnus and the city of Rostock. The Rostockers oppose the erecting of a collegiate church. Duke Magnus lays siege to Rostock. Treaty of peace concluded. Melancholy story of the Jews at Sternberg. Affairs of the empire. Diet of Worms. Remarks on private wars. Privileges granted by the emperor Maximilian to duke Magnus. New dispute with Lubeck. Death and character of duke Magnus. His issue and epitaph.

1477.
Duke Henry's sons divide their father's dominions.

HAD fraternal concord been observed inviolate by the sons of Henry the Fat, viz. Albert, Magnus, and Balthazar, their dominions would never have been divided. But rara est concordia

concordia fratrum is a proverb that has been too often fatally verified. Thus was the trench, which surrounded Rome in its rude beginnings, sprinkled by the aspiring Romulus with his brother's blood, and the voice of nature stifled by ambition. It should not, therefore, seem surprizing, if though there appeared, at first, to be a perfect harmony among the brothers, which made them agree to a joint regency, it was not long before duke Albert insisted on a partition of the whole country. After some difficulty the other brothers, at length, assented to it; and, in 1480, he obtained, for his share, the principality of Wenden. The motive which prompted him to desire this partition, is not known; it could not be on account of his family, since he had very little hopes of children by his duchess, after a ten years sterility. It is most probable, that it was owing to a difficulty of temper, which created a misunderstanding betwixt him and his brothers. Historians mention little or nothing concerning his administration, but that he had once a violent quarrel with the dean and chapter of the cathedral of Hamburg. The cause of this dispute, was a sentence of excommunication which had been pronounced by those ecclesiastics against Benedict Von Ahlefeld, a gentleman belonging to duke Albert's court. In order to be revenged of the dean and chapter, the duke committed some ravages on their estates, and drove away the greatest part of their cattle. The dispute, in all likelihood, would have been carried to farther extremities, had not the duke been snatched away this same year by an untimely death. An event so fatal to the family, was looked upon by the clergy of Hamburg, as a judgment from heaven upon that prince, for his treatment of the church. He was born in 1438, and left no issue by his wife Catharine, daughter of Wickman, count of Ruppin*.

1480.

1483.

Death of
duke Albert.

Duke Albert's share of the dominions of Mecklenburg, devolved to his two brothers, Magnus III. and Balthazar, who agreed to govern the whole country by a joint administration. Duke Balthazar, as we have already taken notice, had resigned

1483-
Joint admi-
nistration of
the surviving
brothers.

* Crantz. Chemn. Rixner, Beehr, Hubner, Spener.

his bishopric, and espoused a princess of Pomerania. This was Margaret, daughter of Eric II. duke of Pomerania, and sister of Sophia, who was married to his brother Magnus. Balthazar was born in 1442, and outlived his brother Magnus two years, having breathed his last in 1507. During his brother's life-time, he concerned himself but very little in public affairs, being chiefly employed in hunting and other rural exercises. He left no issue by his duchess.

Duke Magnus, and his brother, perform a pilgrimage to the Holy-land.

WE come now to duke Magnus III. a prince greatly celebrated for his political abilities. In his father's life-time, viz. in 1470, he had made a pilgrimage to the Holy-land; and, in his return, paid a visit to the pope at Rome. Peregrinations of that kind were much in vogue in those days of ignorance. Whenever a prince had the vain ambition of ingratiating himself with the clergy, the most effectual method he could take, was to neglect the care of his subjects, and set out upon a ramble for Palestine. And if he took Rome in his way in any part of the peregrination, he was the surer of obtaining his aim. The example of duke Magnus excited his cousin, duke Ulric of Stargard, to undertake such another expedition; and his own brother, duke Balthazar, shewed an uncommon ardour to follow his footsteps. This prince, indeed, was resolved to distinguish his zeal by a double pilgrimage; for, not satisfied with the usual track of religious itinerants, he took St. Jago of Compostella, in his way to Jerusalem*.

1482.
A new tax
opposed by
Rostock.

BEFORE the death of duke Albert, duke Magnus had laid a new tax, in the name of the three brothers, on the whole country of Mecklenburg; and the city of Rostock alone opposed this measure. Whether the inhabitants exceeded, on this occasion, the just limits of their rights and privileges; or whether that opposition was a consequence of the too great lenity shewn them after the late disturbance, we do not pretend to determine. This, however, is certain, that the ducal treasury was in an exhausted condition, and, moreover, encumbered with many debts, arising chiefly from the bad management of the late sovereign.

* Crantz. Marshal, Chemn. Bacmeister, Beehr, Buckholtz, Franck.

Besides,

Besides, the whole country had consented to the new impost; and it was very extraordinary that Rostock alone should oppose it. This same year, however, an agreement was made, in virtue of which the Rostockers were to be excepted in all future taxes on houses or persons; but it was expressly stipulated, that their lands and estates in the country should be liable. And here we must in general observe, that in the maritime towns of Mecklenburg, the well-meaning part of the citizens were frequently obliged to give way to the determination of the licentious populace. The consequence of being thus overborn was, that they incurred the common censure of undutifulness to their prince. We shall, indeed, meet with more than one instance in the sequel of this history, to convince us that the senate, and graver citizens, inclined to comply with the lawful desire of the sovereign, but were prevented by the resolutions of the giddy multitude.

NOTWITHSTANDING the late agreement, the citizens of Rostock were dissatisfied, and even seemed to be ripe for an open revolt. Sensible of this disposition in that people, duke Magnus was induced to conclude an alliance with Bogislaus, duke of Pomerania, in order to maintain their authority in the maritime cities subject to their respective dominion. But as those cities were backed in their insolence by Lubeck, and the other Hanse towns, the princes above-mentioned thought proper to sign another treaty of the same kind with Ernestus, archbishop of Magdeburg; Henry the elder, duke of Brunswick; and John, duke of Saxe-Lawenburg. To counterbalance this alliance, the Hanse towns entered into a stricter connection with each other, for their mutual safety and defence.

THOSE princes, however, had very good reason to conclude such treaties, in order to check the over-grown power of the Hanse towns. With regard to Bogislaus, as he had made all Pomerania receive his yoke, he was often obliged, on that account, to enter into a contest with the electors of Brandenburg. On such occasions, the towns subject to his dominion in hi-

1482.
Duke Magnus concludes an alliance against the Hanse towns.

Conduct of the Hanse towns.

ther Pomerania, usually sided with the elector. Many of those towns being included in the Hanseatic confederacy, affected independency. The same confederacy had emboldened the inhabitants of Halle, Magdeburg, Brunswick, Wolfenbüttele, and other cities, to refuse paying due submission and respect to their sovereigns. John, duke of Saxe-Lauenburg in particular, lay under apprehensions from the Lübeckers, who were in possession of the town of Mollen in his dominions; and, by the remissness of his predecessors, had almost obtained the intire sovereignty of that place. Hence it is, that those princes looked upon the Hanseatic confederacy with a jealous eye, and were ready to embrace every means of dissolving it. And although most of those cities owed their prosperity and grandeur to the indulgence and generosity of their respective princes; yet, upon every occasion, they seemed to aim at independency, and to avail themselves of their privileges, only to insult their sovereigns. No wonder that the insolence of those trading corporations should raise the indignation of so many powerful princes, who began to consider it as their common interest, to humble the pride of the Hanseatic confederacy*.

Disputes between duke Magnus and the city of Rostock.

THE city of Rostock, in particular, behaved with great disrespect to duke Magnus. The senate, indeed, were far from opposing the just will and authority of their prince; but as it usually happens in republics, where the common people have a share in the government, the prudent counsels of the few were over-ruled by the impetuosity of the multitude. At this very juncture happened an unlucky accident, which contributed to widen the breach between duke Magnus and the inhabitants of Rostock. A ship belonging to this city having been wrecked upon the coast, the cargo was immediately seized by the officers of the duke's revenue, in virtue of the power intitled Jus Naufragii†, and deposited in the duke's warehouses. The senate, hereupon,

* Bacmeister, Chemnitz, Kluver, Lindenberg, Stevern.

† Henry Burevinus the Elder had suppressed this Jus Naufragii; but to the disgrace of humanity, it seems to have been afterwards revived. See pag. 70.

wrote

wrote to duke Magnus, and demanded restitution of the goods. The duke did not intend to keep them; but before his answer could arrive, the Rostockers marched out without the consent of their magistrates; and seizing the officer of the revenue at a place called Schwaan, beheaded him the next day as a public robber. This violence gave just offence to the duke, and increased his aversion to that riotous populace.

ABOUT this time duke Magnus had also a quarrel with another of the Hanse towns. A gentleman, named Hartwick Ritzeraw, had lost his estate by the imprudence of his father, who had sold it at an undervalue to the city of Lubeck. Hartwick, when come to years of discretion, demanded his estate back; but the Lubeckers were resolved to keep possession of their purchase. In consequence of this refusal, Hartwick began to make incursions on the territory of Lubeck, in which he was assisted by some gentlemen of Prignitz and Mecklenburg. The Lubeckers, unable to get Hartwick into their hands, and knowing no other way of revenge, resolved to seize on a gentleman of Mecklenburg, who had been guilty of no outrages himself, but was suspected of having harboured Ritzeraw. Accordingly they seized the gentleman, and carried him to Lubeck. Duke Magnus was greatly irritated with this violent proceeding, and would have expressed his resentment by commencing hostilities against the Lubeckers, had he not been apprehensive of involving himself in a quarrel with the whole Hanseatic confederacy. An accommodation being thought more advisable; conferences were first held at Schlukup and Wismar, and a treaty was, at length, concluded at Fredeborg, in virtue of which the prisoner recovered his liberty. The conduct of the city of Lubeck, on that occasion, was not intirely blameable, since it then enjoyed the same state of freedom and independency as at present; and the nobility, on the other hand, were so violent and licentious in their behaviour, that they shewed but very little regard to the authority of the sovereign. But the citizens of Rostock had nothing to plead in their excuse: for their alliance with Lubeck, gave them no manner of right to be judges

1482.
Dispute between the
same prince
and the city
of Lubeck.

in their own cause, especially against the officers of a prince who was disposed to do them justice. By such insolent behaviour duke Magnus became more and more incensed against that city, which by its apprehensions was excited to enter into a stricter alliance with the Hanse towns for their mutual security. This gave occasion to the concluding of the different treaties with the confederate cities in 1484 and 1485. By so formidable an alliance the duke was deterred, for that time, from undertaking any thing of consequence against the town, but he thought it prudent to wait for a more favourable opportunity *.

1484.
Duke Magnus attempts to found a collegiate church at Rostock.

WHEN once a people grow jealous of their sovereign, even the most trifling exertions of legal prerogative contribute to increase their apprehensions. The breach between duke Magnus and the inhabitants of Rostock began to widen every day, when that prince attempted to found a collegiate church in their city. This step he took by the advice of the bishops of Ratzeburg and Schwerin, to provide for persons of merit advanced in years, and to encourage the professors in the university by the expectation of preferment. Another motive was to prevent those men from sending the money they had saved during their professorships, into the neighbouring provinces; and to induce them to spend it at Rostock. This foundation was therefore calculated for the particular benefit and advantage of that city. The senate were extremely well pleased with the design; but the common people imagined, that the collegiate church was designed as a fortress to awe the town, and by degrees to deprive it of its ancient privileges. The duke was greatly offended at the suspicion, and resolved, at any rate, to prosecute the work.

Duke Magnus undertakes, with that view, a journey to Rome.

To give a greater sanction to his design, he undertook a journey to Rome, in expectation of obtaining the pope's approbation. John of Parkentin, bishop of Ratzeburg, accompanied the duke at his own expence, and was nominated commissioner by pope Innocent VIII. for settling the affair. The pope, indeed, was so well pleased with the scheme, that he shewed the

* Crantzius, Chemnitz, Latomus, Beehr, Kluver.

greatest

greatest respect to duke Magnus, and presented him with a golden rose. The same pontiff granted a bull for the erection of the new collegiate church, and recommended it to the city of Rostock in the strongest terms. But the Rostockers paying no regard to the bull, Conrad Loft, bishop of Schwerin, excommunicated the city. The secular clergy shewing some regard to the bishop's censure, refused to perform divine service; but the Mendicant friars, being exempt from the bishop's jurisdiction, continued to officiate. The pope had not yet had recourse to the Vatican thunder. The duke, however, continued his undertaking till the year 1487, and was in hopes that the populace would be prevailed on by the senate to acquiesce in the design. The senate were not backward in their duty; but all their endeavours proved ineffectual: the unruly multitude, still entertaining the same suspicion of the duke's intention, positively determined to oppose the foundation of the new church.

The Rostockers oppose the erecting of a collegiate church.

1487.

To overcome this obstinacy of the citizens, duke Magnus apprehended the most effectual method would be to pay a visit in person to Rostock, in company with his brother Balthazar. Accordingly the two princes set out for that town, attended by the bishops of Schwerin and Ratzeburg, and a numerous retinue of the principal gentry of Mecklenburg. The magistrates received the two dukes with the greatest submission and respect. They acquainted them with the turbulent disposition of the burghers, and advised them, above all things, not to begin with the affair of the collegiate church. But duke Magnus disregarding this prudent counsel, ordered the bishops to do their office. Conrad Loft, bishop of Schwerin, consecrated the church of St. James with the forms and ceremonies usual on those occasions. John of Parkentin, bishop of Ratzeburg, the pope's commissioner, read the pontifical bulls, and instituted the chapter, to which the parish-priests of the town and others of the clergy were admitted. The first provost of this collegiate church was Thomas Rhode, and the dean was Henry Pens; the former had been pastor of St. Mary, and the latter of St. James, both advanced in years, as well as eminent for their learning

Great disturbances in Rostock.

learning and piety. During the ceremony of consecrating the church, every thing went on quietly, and the dukes afterwards gave a grand entertainment to the clergy and the senate. But the day following the populace shook off all restraint; and resolved to give a loose to their anger and resentment. Their fury began with storming the habitations of the new canons; and in the impetuosity of their rage they fell upon the provost and dean. The former being barbarously murdered, his body was, for some time, dragged along the streets, and trampled upon by the populace. The latter was confined to a loathsome dungeon in the tower. The dukes themselves had like to have fallen into the hands of the many-headed monster; but the tumultuous proceedings against the two ecclesiastics, afforded an opportunity to some well-meaning persons, encouraged, without doubt, by the senate, to conduct the two brothers out of town untouched and safe from all harm. The dukes, however, were obliged to bear with a great deal of insolent language as they passed along the streets; and the town gates were shut upon them immediately at their departure as if they had been a common enemy. The magistrates were no way concerned in this whole transaction; yet the brutal populace would call them to an account. They charged them with being the authors of all the mischief that had befallen the city, and of having betrayed it into the hands of the dukes. To such a pitch was their indignation against those magistrates arrived, that a gibbet and wheel were painted at their very doors in the middle of the night. They were, therefore, obliged to give way to the present storm, and some of them made their escape to Wismar. The remainder of the senate were intimidated to such a degree, that they found it necessary for their preservation to join outwardly with the populace.

Duke Magnus lays siege to Rostock.

THE indignity of this behaviour produced the highest resentment in the minds of duke Magnus and his brother, who resolved to punish the insolence of those mutinous citizens. Assisted by Bogislaus, duke of Pomerania, the two dukes laid siege to Rostock. Though they soon made themselves masters of the
haven,

haven, and interrupted the navigation of the Warnau, yet they were not able to master the town. It was, therefore, thought proper to change the siege into a blockade, in order to tire out the inhabitants. During this blockade happened many skirmishes, the burghers making frequent sallies. Of these one was particularly deserving of notice, namely, that which happened in the neighbourhood of Panclau, where the dukes themselves were present, and duke Magnus was wounded. In consequence of these disturbances, the university was removed again from Rostock to Wismar, and from thence to the city of Lubeck. The professors, however, were not long absent, being apprehensive of another reduction of their salaries. The blockade not meeting with the success which the princes expected, this rendered them more inclined to listen to overtures of peace. In the very beginning of those disturbances, Lubeck and the other Hanse towns had endeavoured to reconcile the jarring parties; but they were then too much exasperated to think of an accommodation. At length, the dukes having accepted of the mediation of John, king of Denmark, and of John, elector of Brandenburg, a negotiation was set on foot for terminating this difference. Meetings were, therefore, held at Wilsnack and at Wismar, where the deputies of the Hanse towns also appeared, the Rostockers having applied to them for their mediation.

BUT before the negotiators could bring matters to a conclusion, new disturbances broke out in Rostock. The common people rose up again in arms, and chose sixty inquisitors or tribunes, to examine into the conduct of the senate. After they had extorted from these magistrates a certain declaration in writing, they committed nine of them to the tower. The author of this insurrection was a common mechanic, a tool to one of the burgomasters of the city. The fellow had served this magistrate's purpose for some time, by opposing the measures of the other members of the regency, of whom that burgomaster had been jealous. But when this magistrate had answered his end, apprehending the disturbances would not subside till that bold incen-

Duke Magnus and the Rostockers reconciled.

Duke Magnus and the Rostockers reconciled.

incendiary was rendered incapable of inflaming the minds of the people, he ordered the wretch to be privately thrown into goal and beheaded. Such is generally the fate of those who submit to be tools to a party; after they have violated their duty to their sovereign, and disturbed the peace of their country, they find themselves deserted and betrayed by those crafty men, who seduced them from their allegiance. As there were now some hopes of re-establishing the public tranquillity, the negotiations were renewed; and, at length, by the mediation of the princes above-mentioned, and of the Hanse towns, a treaty of accommodation was concluded at Wismar in 1491. In virtue of this treaty, the collegiate church was confirmed; the city was fined in twenty-one thousand florins; and the deposed burgomasters reinstated. At the same time, however, it was stipulated, that the burghers of Rostock should preserve their ancient privileges; and the new members of the senate their present employments. This last article was far from being agreeable to duke Magnus; but as those new magistrates might have had little or no concern themselves in the popular commotions, and an opposition to being continued in office would, in all probability, be the cause of breaking off the treaty, it received at length the duke's consent.

1493.
A treaty of
peace con-
cluded.

1496.

BUT an unexpected accident had like to have frustrated the new treaty: for duke Magnus having thought proper to pay a visit to Rostock, in order to settle affairs finally with the senate, found the gates shut, the unpolished citizens refusing to grant him admittance. The rudeness of this behaviour incensed him to such a degree, that he would have laid siege again to the town, if the interposition of the senate, and, particularly, that of the two duchesses, had not assuaged his indignation. A definitive treaty of peace was, at length, concluded in 1496, in consequence of which, this refractory town was intirely reconciled to its sovereigns. As a mark of duke Magnus's sincerity in forgiving the inhabitants, he favoured them with the privilege of the excise for twenty years, in order to enable them to repair the

the damages they had sustained during the late disturbances. The granting of this privilege is a singular instance of lenity and moderation towards a corporation which, by repeated acts of the most wanton insolence, had shewn itself undeserving of so signal a favour. But revenge is a passion peculiar to little and contracted minds*. Duke Magnus behaved with the magnanimity of a true hero; and after he had reduced his subjects within the bounds of their duty, by force of arms, he chose rather to conciliate their affections by lenity and indulgence, than to aggravate their misery by the rigorous severities of a tyrannical master.

DURING these commotions at Rostock, a melancholy scene was transacted at Sternberg, where five-and-twenty Jews were condemned to the flames for a profanation of the sacrament. These wretched people are said to have procured a consecrated host from a wicked priest, and to have stabbed it through with a knife, till it emitted drops of blood. In times of ignorance and credulity, such accusations against the miserable nation of the Jews were very common; but since the modern improvements of reason and philosophy, they have intirely subsided †.

1492.
Melancholy
story of the
Jews at
Sternberg.

ABOUT this time died the emperor Frederick III. after a reign of fifty-four years, longer than that of any emperor since the days of Augustus. He was in the seventy-ninth year of his age, and had retired to Lintz, intending to concern himself no more with the affairs of government. From his aversion to war he was surnamed the Pacific. He was succeeded by his son Maximilian, who had been elected king of the Romans at the diet of Franckfort in 1486. Upon the accession of this prince, Germany assumed another figure. He was an encourager of learning, and a strict observer of justice. In 1477 he had espoused Mary of Burgundy, daughter of Charles the Bold, and by this match the house of Austria acquired the rich patrimony of the Low Countries. This princess died soon after of

1493.
Affairs of the
empire.

* Quippe minuti

Semper & infirmi est animi exiguique voluptas,
Ultio.

Juv. Sat. xiii.

† Bacmeister, Beehr, Beselin, Buckholtz, Franck.

VOL. II.

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the consequences of a fall from her horse, and left a son, named Philip, who was king of Spain, and father of the emperor Charles V.

1495.
Diet of
Worms.

Remarks on
private war.

Soon after the accession of Maximilian to the Imperial throne, was held the famous diet of Worms, at which duke Magnus and his son prince Henry assisted. Here a period was put to the right of private war, which had grown to a more intolerable height in Germany than in any other part of Europe. The disorders and calamities arising from this horrid and barbarous practice, have been faithfully represented in the course of this history, where no reader could have observed with a heart unmoved, a constant succession of the wars and hostilities between princes and noblemen of the same country, whose swords were so often stained with each others blood. This absurd privilege, the German nobles derived from their heathen ancestors, who had been used to decide their private disputes by force of arms. The reviving of so horrid a custom, after the establishment of Christianity, threatened a dissolution of all regular government. The nobles being grown so powerful as to spurn the restraint of laws, lived, of course, in a state of perpetual war, by which means commerce was interrupted, industry discouraged, and a variety of obstacles formed to obstruct the improvement and happiness of society.

Judicial combats.

To such excess did the Germans carry this right of private war, that they looked upon duels, or single combats, as methods of deciding contests between individuals, approved of by the Deity. This was called judicial combat, or an appeal to Providence in dubious and intricate cases, which were, therefore, submitted to its unerring judgment. But what is most preposterous, if a person thought himself injured by the decision of a court, he had a right to challenge the adverse party, which was called taking the thing upon his right hand, *rem supra dexteram suam sumere*. None but nobles, however, at least of four generations, were possessed of this right of private war, and appeal by duel. A person of superior birth might refuse fighting his inferior; but could not, without violating the laws of honour, decline a combat with his equal: it was also

also required that he should be of age, and not nearly related to his antagonist. The ceremonies attending the actual combat being very curious, we shall give the particulars, as described in the writers of the middle ages.

THE combat, or battle, was to be fought in the morning, and the judge supplied the person challenged with a sword and shield, in case he wanted them. He then appointed two persons of credit to search the arms and accoutrements of the combatants, and see that every thing was fair. The combatants were allowed to cover their bodies with leather and linen, as much as they thought proper, provided their heads and feet were bare. They wore gloves, or gauntlets, on their hands. Each grasped a sword, and was girded with one or two more beside. The shield was of wood covered with leather, and no iron about it except the boss. The judge ordered the spectators to observe a profound silence upon pain of death. When the combatants had once entered the lists, they were not allowed to object to the sentence. Both swore to their innocence, and the judge took care that neither should have any advantage of ground or situation, but both should be upon a perfect equality. They had each of them two men assigned with great iron bars, who, when one of the champions happened to be tired or overpowered, and to sue for respite, immediately planted a bar before him, and protected him from his adversary. If the challenger was vanquished, he lost his cause, and, moreover, was obliged to pay a fine to the judge. It was expected, that the challenger should enter the lists first, and wait for his antagonist. If the latter delayed coming, the crier, with a loud voice, summoned him twice, and made two persons of credit attest the summons. But if upon the third citation, the challenged did not appear, the challenger stood up in his armour, to shew the by-standers he was ready for combat; then flourishing his sword three or four times, he was declared by the judge to have gained his cause.

Ceremonies
observed in
single com-
bats.

THE practice of private wars having occasioned such anarchy and confusion, as to supersede all obedience to the laws, many

Means taken
to prevent
them.

attempts were made to restrain them: but the long contests between the priesthood and the empire had enfeebled the Imperial authority to such a degree, that several edicts for the prohibition of this barbarous custom; among others, that of the emperor William, in 1255, were of no manner of effect. These disorders were, in some measure, quelled, and tranquility restored by the Tregua Dei, or Truce of God, which was established in France in 1032, and afterwards adopted in Germany. A bishop of Aquitaine, pretending a revelation from heaven, enjoined a cessation of these unchristian hostilities; which cessation first took place for seven years, and was afterwards confined to three days in the week, from the evening of Thursday to Monday morning. But hostilities being resumed on the other days with greater animosity, several princes and Imperial towns entered into associations for maintaining the public peace, and stemming the torrent of an evil so destructive to society. Thus were formed the league of the Rhine, that of Suabia, and many others, which in some degree promote the public peace, and a more regular administration of justice.

Decree against private wars.

BUT the right of private war was not intirely abolished till this year 1495, by a decree of the diet of Worms. The emperors had now recovered their authority, and the restoration of learning began to afford new lights with respect to government, and the utility of legal subordination. The privilege of private war, so long boasted by the nobles, was found to be a barbarous custom, and altogether inconsistent with the state of civil society. A constitution was therefore enacted, for the preservation of the public peace among the princes and states of the empire. It is true, that edicts of this kind had been occasionally published for a limited time; but the diet of Worms decreed, that the public peace should be perpetual. All private challenges, or duels, were abolished, and those who violated this ordinance were put under the ban of the empire. To insure the constant observance of this decree, a supreme court of judicature was erected for determining the disputes and differences which might arise among the states, or princes, of the empire.

This was called the Imperial Chamber, consisting at first of a lord chief justice, chosen from among the principal nobility, and sixteen assessors or counsellors, whose residence was fixed at Frankfort. From thence this court was transferred to Worms, then again to Spire, and at length to Wetzlar where it is now settled. It actually consists of a chief justice, named by the emperor, two presidents, one Protestant, another Roman Catholic, likewise named by the emperor, and seventeen counsellors, named alternately by the emperor, and by the electors and circles.

THIS Imperial Chamber determines finally and without appeal, all civil causes of the states of the empire ; but its jurisdiction does not extend to feudal causes, nor to those referred to the Aulic council, nor to criminal causes, which can be tried only by the body of the states assembled at the diet. We must except, however, those of the violation of the public peace, which belong to the jurisdiction of the Imperial Chamber. It likewise pronounces final sentence, and without appeal, on all causes between the subjects of the states of the empire ; but these causes are not brought so frequently as formerly before this tribunal, because of the privileges *de non appellendo*, which the emperors grant from time to time to the states of the empire, and which annul the subject's right of appeal either entirely, or as far as a certain sum. If any person thinks himself injured by a decree of the Imperial Chamber, he may demand to have his cause brought to a second hearing, which, in that case, is granted by the elector of Mentz. This same prelate has a right, in conjunction with the deputies of the diet, to visit the Imperial Chamber, in order to enforce and maintain the impartial administration of justice. The causes of private persons cannot be brought before this court, except by way of appeal from the sentence pronounced by their sovereigns ; nor those of the princes but by way of appeal from the decision of the *Austregues* or arbitrators *. We have thought proper to

Establishment of the Imperial Chamber.

* The *Austregues* were instituted in the thirteenth century, at the time of the great interregnum : to prevent civil broils in the empire, most of the states entered into

enter more minutely into the transactions of the diet of Worms, as they tend to convey an idea of the public law of Germany, with which the government of Mecklenburg is intimately connected †. We return now to duke Magnus and his brother.

Privileges
granted by
the emperor
Maximilian
I. to duke
Magnus.

THE diet of Worms is farther remarkable for the new investiture granted by the emperor Maximilian to duke Magnus and his brother, who likewise obtained the privilege of coining gold specie, and were exempted from the Westphalian courts of judicature. The new investiture, indeed, was no more than what is usually granted to the princes of Germany upon the emperor's accession to the throne; but this is particularly taken notice of by the historians of Mecklenburg, on account of the principality of Wenden, in the possession of which the dukes were solemnly confirmed. The Westphalian laws, from which the dukes were exempted, are supposed, by some, to have been so called from the courts of judicature held in Westphalia, at the town of Soest, where they were first compiled. Their origin they derive from the emperor Charles the Great, by whom they were enacted on account of the Saxons converted to Christianity; and the clergy afterwards introduced them into every district that embraced the Christian religion. These laws were somewhat in the nature of the Spanish inquisition, with this difference however, that they were not altogether so much at the direction of the clergy, otherwise they would not have been so easily abolished. They were of a most dangerous tendency, and most oppressive to the subject. The defendant seldom knew either the plaintiff, or the judge, before he was imprisoned and executed, which was all transacted in private. It has been, therefore, looked upon as a most fortunate circumstance for the liberties of Germany, that these oppressive laws were abolished

into an agreement to nominate arbitrators, who were to be considered as the lawful judges of all suits brought against their confederates.

† Heisse, Barre, Pfeffel, Beehr, Franck.

at

at this juncture; otherwise the reformation, which soon after took place, would never have made so great a progress*.

IN consequence of these lucky contingences, duke Magnus and his brother had raised themselves to so high a degree of reputation, that their friendship was courted by all the neighbouring princes. Bogislaus, duke of Pomerania, renewed his alliance with them in 1496 and 1498. This example was followed by John, duke of Saxe-Lawenburg, in 1497; and by Henry, duke of Luneburg in 1498. These alliances were originally intended to repress the insolence of the Hanseatic confederacy. Duke Magnus had been long at variance with the city of Lubeck, insomuch that the dispute gave occasion to a legal inquiry, and the process was removed to the Imperial or Aulic court. This difference took its rise from the digging of a canal near Mollen, for the conveniency of conveying salt from Luneburg. We have already taken notice † that Albert, king of Sweden, and John, duke of Mecklenburg, had opposed the digging of this canal; but that the contest afterwards subsided. Duke Magnus, however, in revenge for the assistance which the Lubeckers had granted to the inhabitants of Rostock, seized the opportunity of reviving his claim, and of laying a toll upon the canal. Yet the city of Lubeck carried her cause at the Imperial court; and matters were restored to their original state.

Duke Magnus renews his alliances.

New dispute with Lubeck.

THIS year is remarkable for an extraordinary act of duke Magnus's administration; namely, the creation of the barony of Pentzlin; which was separated from the ducal demesnes, and granted in fee to Widekind, the new baron of Molzahn. The family known by that name is one of the most considerable in the whole country: it is possessed of the dignity of hereditary marshal of the principality of Wenden, and has produced several men of great worth and eminence. Some are of opinion that this family is descended from the ancient Venedi; while others suppose it to be of German extraction. Pentzlin is the only

1501.
Creation of the barony of Pentzlin.

* Chemn. Westphal. Beehr, Stevern.

† See p. 343.

barony

1503.
Death and
character of
duke Mag-
nus.

barony in Mecklenburg that can properly be said to be free; the owners of it have since obtained the title of counts of Molzahn*.

DUKE Magnus did not long survive the erection of this barony. He was sixty-two years of age, when the contagious attack of an epidemical disease deprived him of life, the twenty-second of November, 1503. His distinguishing characteristic was affability and good nature: he lived in great harmony with all his subjects, except the turbulent inhabitants of Rostock; and even this city hath sufficient cause to celebrate his generous behaviour upon the final reconciliation. His disposition being naturally pacific, he never went to war, but when provoked by ungenerous treatment: then he behaved with gallantry and courage, as in the siege of Rostock, where he was dangerously wounded. His aversion to the Hanse towns, for which he is censured by some, was owing to the many provocations and indignities which he received from those haughty republics. He was a zealous friend to justice, which made him inexorable with regard to those who obstructed the security of the high-ways. His diligence and attention in transacting public business were very great. He was splendid in his appearance, and in some respects affected a state superior to his fortune. This, together with his many expeditions and peregrinations, exhausted his finances, and was the cause of levying new taxes, which proved somewhat oppressive to his subjects. He was a great patron of learning, of which he gave a very uncommon instance, by persevering so steadily in the affair of the collegiate church of Rostock. His whole design in this foundation was to make a further provision for men of letters, as an encouragement to the university of that city. Hence it is, that the members of that learned body had not the least concern with the burghers in the disturbances of that time; and by so prudent a behaviour the university rose to a prosperous and flourishing state. In this duke's reign lived the celebrated Albertus Crantzius; he was

* Westphal. Beehr, Franck, Buckholtz.

doctor of divinity and the canon law, and a shining ornament of that university. At the same time also lived Nicholas Marschall, doctor of civil law, a person of great authority and reputation in Rostock. Crantzius was made dean of the cathedral of Hamburg before the death of duke Magnus; and Marschall was appointed chancellor of the duchy of Mecklenburg by duke Henry VII.

DUKE Magnus married Sophia, daughter of Eric II. duke of Pomerania. This princess, as we have already observed, had been betrothed to his brother John. She did not long survive duke Magnus, but died in 1505. By her this duke had three sons, Henry VII. Eric II. and Albert VII. and four daughters, Catharine, Dorothea, Sophia, and Anna. Catharine was married to Henry the Pious, duke of Saxony of the Albertine line, and was mother to the two electors Maurice and Augustus; she died in 1561. Dorothea retired to the convent of Ribnitz, where she was made lady-abbess, and departed this life in 1537. Sophia was consort to the elector of Saxony, John the Resolute, and died a little before her father in 1503, in child-bed of the celebrated elector, her only son, John Frederick the Magnanimous. Anna was the wife of William, landgrave of Hesse, and the mother of the great landgrave Philip. After the decease of her first husband, she took a second, Otho, count of Solms, and exchanged this life for immortality in 1525*.

THUS was duke Magnus, by means of his daughters, the patriarch and progenitor of the present house of Saxony of both lines, as well as of the house of Hesse; and, likewise, grandfather of the two most zealous professors, and the two most strenuous defenders of the Protestant religion. The former were the elector John Frederick, of Saxony, and Philip, landgrave of Hesse: the latter were Maurice and Augustus, electors of Saxony: the one obtained the famous treaty of Passau, the other is highly extolled by the Protestants of the Confession of Augsb-
burg, for purging their church of Calvinistical tenets.

* Crantz. Hederich, Rixner, Chemn. Beehr, Hubner, Spener, Franck.

WE shall conclude this chapter with the Latin epitaph of this prince, written by Chytræus.

Megapolensis eram, dux Magnus, nomine Magnus,
 Cæsaribus gratus, principibusque viris.
 Pronus apostolica papæ bis cernor in aula,
 Austriacus fovit Cæsar uterque meos.
 Perpetuam dedit ille rosam, sacra bractea regum
 His mihi feudorum gratia bina fuit.
 Ethereæ patriam Solymæ peregrinus adivi,
 Militiam domini sancta per arva petens.
 Gaudebunt atavi titulis, tellure nepotes,
 Proxima cura subit, religionis honos.
 Auximus iis fines, sed stemmata juximus illis,
 Nostra reformatis stat pia turba choris.
 Rostochiumque ferox domui tibi dive Jacobe,
 Sanguine cum proprio canonicos statuens.
 Quod pepuli verpos Christi bona sacramenta,
 Stellarum montis secta tremenda ferit.
 Heu pietas ! dum magna paro, majora relinquo,
 Injecere manus maxima fata mihi.
 Nam dum sæva lues toto grassatur in orbe,
 Lichnica, crustosis ulcera stigmatibus.
 Nulla meos potuit virtus superare dolores,
 Quin perii, mortem nulla medela levat.
 Induperatorum, regumque, ducumque potestas
 Et cunctæ stellis suppeditantur opes.
 Eheu magna cadunt, parvumque est quodcunque videmus;
 Jamque ducis Magni nomina sola manent.
 Pectoribus loquor hæc doctis, indocta rogabunt,
 Sit mea cum patribus mens bene grata Deo *.

* Saxon. lib. I. c. 42.

C H A P. IV.

H E N R Y VII.

E R I C II. and

A L B E R T VII.

D U K E S of M E C K L E N B U R G.

From 1503 to 1552.

E M P E R O R S of G E R M A N Y,

M A X I M I L I A N I. - - 1493.

C H A R L E S V. - - - 1519.

K I N G S of E N G L A N D,

H E N R Y VII. - - - 1485.

H E N R Y VIII. - - - 1509.

E D W A R D VI. - - - 1547.

Successors of duke Magnus. Death of duke Balthazar. Death of duke Eric. Expectancy of Leuchtenberg. The administration settled. War with Lubeck. Compacts of inheritance with Pomerania and Luneburg. Duke Henry goes over to Denmark. Luther begins to preach the reformation. Reflections on the restoration of learning.

AT the time when the country of Mecklenburg was bereft of that excellent prince duke Magnus, his youngest son happened to be absent at Bologna, at which university he had for some time pursued his studies. His two brothers, Henry and Albert*, thought proper to defer taking any measures for the settlement of their paternal inheritance till his return. In the mean time, they took upon them the administration in conjunction with their uncle Balthazar, who, since the melancholy

1503.
Successors of
duke Mag-
nus.

* Duke Henry VII. was born in 1479; duke Albert, his brother, in 1486; and duke Eric in 1483.

event of his brother's decease, seemed to give greater attention to public affairs than formerly. The first care of the young princes was their father's funeral, which was celebrated with great magnificence at Wismar, and at which were present the bishops of Lubeck and Ratzeburg, with the deputies of many of the chief princes of Germany. The funeral oration, setting forth the antiquity and splendor of the ducal family, together with the merits of the deceased prince, was pronounced by the celebrated historian Albertus Crantzius. Towards the close of the same year the young princes had the misfortune of being deprived of their mother, the duchess Sophia, who was buried at Wismar, where the following verses, written by the celebrated Mareschallus Thurius, are to be seen on her monument.

Aspice quæ placido recubant hoc ossa sepulcro

Illustris Sophiæ, quando fuere ducis.

Hæc erat illa viro Magno, quæ vixit, amando

Principi nec patriæ, credite, parva salus.

Haud illaudatos hæc egit molliter annos,

Solatrix, clemens, larga, benigna fuit.

Pannoso, tristi, fonti non deerat asylum,

Religione potens munera multa dedit.

Vivat apud superos jucunda luce faventes,

Exemplum proles posthuma dives habet.

Joint administration of the three brothers.

UPON the return of prince Eric from Italy, the three brothers entered into a joint administration; and it was agreed that they should have but one residence and one court; and that duke Henry should be entrusted with the executive part of government in all their names, so as to be obliged, however, to act in public affairs in conjunction with duke Balthazar. One of their first transactions was the reconciling of the inhabitants of Stralsund to Eric, duke of Pomerania, after a long quarrel which had like to have proved fatal to that city. Stralsund had behaved towards the duke with all the insolence of a haughty Hanse town, and was now upon the point of feeling the weight of his resentment, a powerful army having invested the town, when

when the princes of Mecklenburg interposed, and prevented things from coming to extremity. Conferences were held at Rostock; and, after very warm debates, the contending parties were reconciled. The dukes, likewise, being desirous to ingratiate themselves with the inhabitants of Rostock, granted them a confirmation of all their privileges.

AFFAIRS being thus settled at home, duke Henry and his brother Albert repaired to the Imperial diet at Cologne, where they received from the emperor Maximilian I. the investiture of their territories, and a confirmation of all their rights and privileges. This diet had been convened, in order to settle the dispute concerning the succession of George the Rich, duke of Bavaria, which had been claimed by his son-in-law Rupert, count Palatine, in virtue of a will, and by Albert, of the branch of Munich, as the nearest relation of the collateral line. The affair was laid before the emperor, who adjudged the succession to the collateral heirs; but Rupert refusing to abide by that decision, was put under the ban of the empire. Armies took the field on both sides, and committed terrible ravages. The emperor divided his forces into four bodies, one of which was headed by himself, a second by the duke of Wirtemberg, a third by Alexander, count Palatine, and a fourth by the landgrave, in conjunction with Henry, duke of Mecklenburg. This corps committed the greatest excesses, destroying the Palatinate with fire and sword, when prince Rupert died; upon which hostilities ceased, his children referring the difference to the decision of the diet. Here the duchy of Landshut was adjudged to Albert, duke of Bavaria, stem of the present electoral family; and the duchy of Newburg was granted to the children of prince Rupert.

DUKE Henry had embarked in this contest, merely through regard to the emperor Maximilian, from whom he had received in his father's life-time, in 1502, the expectancy of the landgraviate of Leuchtenberg. What services the duke had done that emperor, is not known; only it is mentioned, that he resided some time at the court of Vienna, and exercised the function

1505.
Diet of Cologne.

Expectancy
of Leuchten-
berg.

tion of imperial, or aulic counsellor, which is the title given him in the Patent of Expectancy. It is possible, that Maximilian intended to indemnify the duke for the expences which his father Magnus had incurred, by leading a body of troops into Friseland, to the assistance of Henry, duke of Saxony. The intent of that expedition, which happened in 1597, was to reduce the mutinous inhabitants, who had refused to obey duke Henry and his brother, stadtholders of that province. But whatever might have been Maximilian's intent, it is certain, that expectancies are a very indifferent payment for past services. The house of Mecklenburg has been convinced, both in the preceding and present century, how little advantage it has to reap from such a reversionary grant, by the extinction of the landgraves of Leuchtenberg.

WHILE the duke and his brother were engaged in the expedition against prince Rupert, a dispute arose between the city of Lubeck and the noble family of Parkentin; in consequence of which an open rupture ensued between the states of Lubeck and the duke of Mecklenburg. The cause of this quarrel was of a most trifling nature. Three peasants of the duchy of Mecklenburg, being intoxicated with liquor, had some words with the crew of a vessel belonging to the city of Lubeck. From words they proceeded to blows; and, in the height of the fray, two of the peasants were taken and carried off in triumph by the sailors: the other saved himself by flight, and acquainted his lady, of the family of Buchwald, that his comrades had been made prisoners, and would inevitably be put to death. Moved with this story, the lady instigated her neighbours and relations, especially those of the family of Parkentin, to make reprisals upon that city. The Lubeckers, finding themselves attacked, had recourse to arms in their own defence. On this occasion duke Henry espoused the cause of his subjects, and ordered the nobility to commence hostilities against the city of Lubeck. Thus began an open war, in which both parties greatly annoyed each other, without coming to a decisive engagement. At length, the emperor interposing in this dispute, a peace was con-

concluded; and the conditions of the accommodation were agreeable to the known constitution of the empire, *Uti accepisti, ita tenebis* *.

DURING this dispute, duke Balthazar departed this life, without leaving any issue by his wife Margaret, daughter of Eric, duke of Pomerania. Historians take very little notice of this prince, and mention only that he was extremely fond of rural diversions. The death of duke Balthazar was followed the next year by that of his nephew, prince Eric, who had been, for some time, afflicted with a consumption, which carried him off Dec. the twenty-fourth, 1508. This prince had an extraordinary taste for learning, which was the cause of his studying at Wittenberg and Bologna, where he distinguished himself in a particular manner. He likewise discharged the office of rector of the university of Rostock, three different times, with great applause. But just as he began to display his abilities in the art of government, he was snatched away by death in the flower of his age, to the inexpressible concern of the whole country of Mecklenburg. As he was never married, the intire succession devolved to the two surviving brothers, Henry and Albert. He was interred at Dobberan, and Mareschallus Thurius wrote the following epitaph for him:

Me juvenem diræ crudeli funere paræ.
Abstulerant; tantæ cur sunt mortalia curæ!
Nam neque quæ dulces per Romula rura Camænas
Quæsi profuerat; nec quæ sine fine relegi
Pompilii veneranda Numæ monumenta; nec illa
Quæ sunt innumeris civilia jura rubricis
Prodita, nec mille qui me mansere triumphis.
Eheu! quid demens cœlestia numina lusi!
Quem non religio, genitor quam voluit uterque:
Sed neque sacrorum fasces potuere repositi
Ducere; proh! turba male persuadente sinistra.
At quid fera queror? Manes causantis egenos
Altitono præstat votis placare secundis.

* Chemnitz, Latomus, Hubner, Stevern, Chytræus.

1509.

THE ensuing year duke Henry concluded a compact of inheritance with Bogislaus, duke of Pomerania, and another in

1510.

1510 with Henry, the young duke of Brunswick-Luneburg.

1511.

These compacts of inheritance were also treaties of alliance for the security of their respective dominions. Soon after these transactions, duke Henry had the misfortune of losing his excellent consort, Ursula of Brandenburg. She was a princess endowed with singular prudence, great goodness of heart, and solid piety. Her charity was so extensive, that she was considered as the common parent of the poor, who, by her death, suffered an irreparable loss. The following epitaph on this princess was written by Mareſchallus Thurius.

Si jactare genus licet, & meminisse caduca,

Imperii sacri stirps mea jura regit.

Imperii quæstor genitor fuit, illius oram

Bryſeam natus nunc Joachimus habet.

Conjugio crevi claro, Duce nobilis usque

Henrico, quicum pignora terna tuli.

Vixiſſem, potui patriæ navare ſalutem,

Vix ea ſed meditans, Atropos atra rapit.

Magniade ſi multa juvant, quæ magna parantur,

Religio, pietas, & benefacta juvant.

Cætera vana reor, fors eſt metuenda futura,

Hoc ſat erit, pro me fæmina virque rogent.

1512.

DUKE Henry's grief for his consort was not of long continuance; for we find him the next year partaking of the pleasures of a tournament*, which was exhibited at Ruppın by Joachim, elector of Brandenburg. He was accompanied, on this occasion, by his brother, duke Albert, and his ſiſter, princeſs Catharine. The entertainment was magnificent and ſplendid, and both the brothers diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their gallantry and

* We took notice in a note, pag. 306. that the laſt tournaments in Germany, were held at Worms and Ratiſbon in 1487; but this ſeems to be a miſtake of Pfeffel, from whom we borrowed that remark.

addresses *. The first prize was given by the electress Elizabeth to Albert, duke of Mecklenburg ; the second by princess Catharine, his sister, to Joachim, the elector. Princess Catharine was possessed of every accomplishment that can adorn the fair sex, and add new lustre to beauty : no wonder then that this lady should make conquests, when her charms had such a field to exert their power in. The person most smitten with her beauty was Henry the Pious, duke of Saxony, who, three days after his return to his own country, dispatched ambassadors to the dukes of Mecklenburg, demanding their sister in marriage. The proposal was accepted, and the two dukes accompanied the princess to Saxony, where duke Henry espoused her at Meissen with great pomp : the elector of Saxony, his two brothers, the duke of Brunswick, the duke of Luneburg, and other princes, assisted at the ceremony. Duke Henry of Mecklenburg, hearing of the charms of the beauteous Helena, daughter of Philip, elector Palatine, set out that same year for Heidelberg, in company with George, duke of Pomerania, and his addressees were so well received by that lady, that they were betrothed to each other ; the like ceremony passed between his friend, duke George, and the princess Emilia, sister to the fair Helen. The nuptials were celebrated the year following at Wismar, whither the two princesses had been accompanied by their brothers, Wolfgang and Henry, princes Palatine of the Rhine. The magnificence of the entertainments on this occasion were such, that Mareschallus Thurius, who was a spectator of them, wrote an intire book on the subject, to which we refer the reader. Suffice it to observe, that the festivity was graced by a tournament ; at which were present, besides the two princes Palatine, Joachim, elector of Brandenburg ; John, Frederick, and George, dukes of Saxony ; Philip, duke of Brunswick ; Magnus, duke of Saxe-Lawenburg ; the bishops of Schwerin, Lubeck, and Ratzeburg ; the archbishop of Bre-

1513.

* The particulars of this entertainment are accurately described in the following scarce and curious book, *Vigilantii Arbillæ bellica progymnastica a Joachimo Rupini celebrata.*

men, and his brother Henry, duke of Brunswick; with the deputies of the kings of Denmark and Poland, and a numerous train of nobility. At the same time the nuptials of Philip, duke of Pomerania, and the princess Emilia, were solemnized with great pomp at Stettin.

1513.

THE same year, in which such rejoicings were spread over Mecklenburg, duke Henry, to complete the happiness of his family, entered into a new agreement with his brother duke Albert, with regard to the government of Mecklenburg. The purport of it was, that each should have his stated revenue; that Henry be possessed of the sole administration five years longer; but that all public acts should run in both their names.

1515.

ABOUT this period Christian II. king of Denmark and Sweden, espoused the princess Isabella, daughter of Philip I. king of Spain, who was son of the emperor Maximilian. On this occasion, duke Henry was entreated by the emperor, to go over to Copenhagen, and assist, in his name, at the royal nuptials. The duke complied with the request, and made a most splendid figure at the capital of Denmark. This was not acting beneath his dignity, since it appears to be no unusual thing for princes of the empire to act in a representative capacity, especially on so important an occasion, when the duke represented the grandfather of that princess. At the same time a treaty of mutual alliance and defence was concluded between Christian, king of Denmark, and the two dukes of Mecklenburg.

1517.
Luther be-
gins to
preach the
reformation.

THIS year will be ever memorable on account of the reformation of the church, so intrepidly attempted, and so happily completed by the celebrated Martin Luther. Such a general revolution, both in the doctrine and external worship of a considerable part of the professors of Christianity, merits a particular discussion in the history of a country, which signalized its zeal very early in adopting, and has ever since been equally strenuous in supporting the reformation. It is a part of history replete with extraordinary events, and every circumstance of it requires our most serious reflections.

THE

THE authority of the popes, absolute in spiritual affairs, triumphed during eight centuries over all its adversaries. It had baffled the united attacks of emperors, kings, people, fanaticism, and science. At length arose a friar; who, from the obscurity of his cell, braved this throne, tore from the sovereign one half of his empire, and shook the other from its foundations. LEO X. in order to build St. Peter's church at Rome, opened the treasure of indulgences: avaricious men farmed them out in Germany, and the Dominicans were employed to dispose of them to the best advantage. This pretence piqued the jealousy of the Augustinian friars, who thereupon engaged a young member of their order to revenge the injury done them: herein he proved successful, and his success produced one of the most extraordinary revolutions both in civil and sacred affairs to be met with in the annals of religion.

LUTHER was born at Isleb in Saxony in 1483, of parents who lived unknown to fame in the humble vale of poverty. Want was his first inducement to embrace a monastic life, superstition determined him in it. Shocked by a clap of thunder, which had killed one of his friends by his side, he threw himself, at two-and-twenty years of age, into a convent of Augustinian friars. Being a man of great industry and penetration, full of fire and endowed with the inestimable talent of an animated and flowing elocution, he attached himself to study with the utmost ardor and assiduity, and soon acquired a considerable degree of reputation. The order he belonged to, which considered him as a most valuable member, made him professor of philosophy at Wittemberg, and soon after of theology, in which he acquired still greater honour. Revered as the oracle of his country, on account of his erudition and eloquence, he was, with unanimous consent, chosen by his brethren to oppose the new preachers. Elate with so glorious a mark of distinction, the youthful friar undertook this dangerous employment with joy. The scandalous abuses of the church of Rome, gave full scope to his eloquence. Indulgences, which the popes at first dispensed as fruits of the divine propitiation, were become a merchandize

Account of
the reformation
and its
causes.

which was publickly sold in the most indecent manner imaginable. They were no longer offered as graces capable of procuring the remission of the temporal punishments of a crime expiated by the sacrament; they were preached as divine favours, which of themselves had efficacy to atone for the most enormous crimes. Luther wielded the thunder of his eloquence against these maxims, and shewing the pernicious tendency of such doctrines in the strongest light, made the purchasers greatly abate of their ardor. Encouraged by this success he proceeded still farther, and attacked the doctrine of indulgences itself. Rome thinking such an adversary of little consequence, at first contented herself with menacing; but seeing the storm increase, she launched the thunders of the Vatican and demanded the offender, in order to make him expiate his temerity. The reformer, provoked by this condemnation, and screened by his sovereign, redoubled his zeal. Aided by the lights with which history supplied him, he made an effort to overthrow the altars of the Vatican and the throne of the pontiff. By an eloquence which seemed to carry conviction with it, he shook the hierarchy; and having an equal talent for satire, treated with the keenest contempt those superstitious ceremonies which had so long been respected by the credulity of believers. The emperor, hereupon, commanded him to come before him, and give an account of his sentiments: Luther made his appearance accordingly, spoke with the utmost boldness, and even in his return made a prodigious number of proselytes. The clergy, alarmed at his progress, pressed Charles V. to imitate the conduct of Sigismund, who put John Huss to death notwithstanding the faith of a safe conduct; but Charles rejecting with horror the proposal to break his word, a conspiracy was formed against the life of him, who was looked upon as a dangerous enemy of the clergy, and a disturber of the established religion. Luther, thereupon, hid himself in a fortress; and, in the silence of his retreat, made it his business to reduce the articles of the reformation into a system. In consequence hereof, he opened the doors of the monasteries, allowed the priests to marry, deprived the clergy of their
I wealth,

wealth, exhorted princes to seize one half of this consecrated treasure, and shewed how the other might be put to a more proper use: he would have had it applied to the founding of colleges, the building of hospitals, encouraging industry, and mending the high roads. Thus Luther accompanying his reformation with institutions of the utmost utility, his sovereign became more zealous than ever in patronizing and protecting him. He soon was at liberty to make his appearance again in public, and Saxony received him with transports of joy. He now saw himself at the height of his wishes, and felt the most sensible satisfaction; being received as a man sent from heaven to dissipate the mists of error, and restore truth to those who had long walked in clouds and darkness: he saw his own country consecrate his opinions, and adopt his reformation. From Saxony they spread to Hesse, and soon after to a considerable part of the North of Germany. A number of disciples, who espoused his cause, did their utmost to promote it both by writing and preaching. Melancthon was the chief support of the party, and did it the highest honour, being one of the ablest men in Germany, one of the finest geniuses of the age in which he lived, and the most peaceable divine that had ever been known. Luther, having thus triumphed over his enemies, yielded to those inclinations which he had, till then, concealed. He laid aside his frock, and married a young nun for whom he had long had a passion. Three sons, pledges of their love, completed his happiness, which received new increases every day. Apostles, animated by the most ardent zeal, propagated the doctrine of their master all over Europe. Bucer, who had been originally a friar like Luther himself, preached it in all the Imperial cities upon the Rhine; Olaus rendered it triumphant in Sweden, his native country, with a rapidity which subjected to him that whole monarchy in the space of a twelvemonth. The reformation was, upon its first appearance, embraced in Sweden by the great Gustavus; and the wise Christian III. made it the established religion of Denmark. The doctrine of the church of Rome was at the same time re-nounced

nounced by the English, and several of the Swiss cantons. The reformation then spread as far as Scotland, and began to penetrate even to France. Luther saw all Christendom roused up by his preaching; one half of Europe renouncing the authority of the pope; whole kingdoms adopting his sentiments; a powerful party consulting him and receiving his decisions with respect. Thus did he die triumphant, free from terror and apprehensions, and in full enjoyment of that highest satisfaction to a virtuous mind, the consideration of having contributed to the happiness of his fellow-creatures.

THIS success of the reformation should not seem surprising to the reader; the way had been paved to it by Wickliff and John Huss, who had propagated the fundamentals of its doctrine; Luther had nothing to do but revive the memory of them. The circumstances of the conjuncture were favourable to his design: the church of Rome was over-run by a variety of abuses, and the doctrine was as much perverted as the discipline; inasmuch, that the eloquence and satyrical talents of the learned friar could not have more ample matter to work upon. The states of the empire had long murmured against the monstrous exactions of the Italian clergy. The ecclesiastical princes of Germany were obliged to pay the annates or first fruits, the fees of the pallium, and those of the bulls of confirmation; nay they were often called upon for the tenths of their revenues, under pretext of supporting a war against the Turks. The territories of the secular princes were exhausted by the horrid abuse of indulgences; several of the pope's commissaries carrying on a scandalous traffic in this commodity, till it rose to the excess above-mentioned, under the pontificate of Leo X. In short the jubilee of 1500, and the building of St. Peter's church, had drained the Germans of immense sums. The registers of the diets from 1450 to 1512, are full of these grievances; and the ecclesiastical electors made no difficulty of charging Alexander VI. and his successors, with having rendered Germany a tributary province to Rome. The minds of men, lately emerged out of barbarism, were in a ferment, which rendered them earnest in inquiry: the
spiritual

spiritual slavery in which they had been kept till then, appearing to them the more odious in proportion as their yoke had been more heavy, they were eager to break their shackles and recover intellectual freedom. People of all ranks found their account in the reformation; it proved acceptable to the monks, as they were by it delivered from a heavy yoke, to which they had inadvertently submitted in an age incapable of making a judicious choice; the people were benefited by it, being thereby eased of a variety of ceremonies, either expensive or troublesome; it was equally favourable to the poor, the monasteries being converted into hospitals, in which they were relieved by the public; it promoted the interest of the grandees, as they shared the spoils of the churches, so magnificent and so rich in Germany; and all sovereigns were highly rejoiced at a revolution, which enabled them to shake off the yoke of a power, whose overgrown authority had so often annihilated their own, and as they saw with joy the diadem revenged of the affronts which it had received from the tiara.

THE reformation was greatly forwarded by the new invention of printing; the press multiplied the writings of the reformers; and, at the same time, put it out of the power of their adversaries to destroy them. The persecuting spirit of the partisans of the church of Rome contributed, likewise, to promote the protestant cause. The sanguinary edicts issued by Francis I. Charles V. Henry VIII. and his daughter, against the reformers, the faggots which they kindled, the tortures which they invented, so many punishments which they inflicted, all these particulars helped to make men persist in acknowledging the truth, and placing their highest glory in the contempt of the most exquisite tortures. Massacres and bloodshed, at the same time that they deprived thousands of protestants of their lives, produced every day innumerable profelytes to the reformed religion; so that the old proverb was remarkably verified, "the blood of Martyrs is the seed of the church." It must at the same time be observed, that the characters of the popes who reigned at that time, greatly hastened to the down-

downfal of their throne. The debaucheries and cruelties of Alexander VI. the wars and intrigues of Julius II. the voluptuous life of Leo X. the faults and misfortunes of Clement VII. the unjust actions of Paul III. to promote the interest of his family, and the crimes of his unworthy son, whose excesses his blind fondness made him difsemble; all this contributed to abate that respect which the people formerly paid the pontiff, a respect which, for a time, almost rose to idolatry; and the protestant cause was not more promoted by the zeal of the reformers, than the unworthiness of the heads of the church*.

Account of
the restoration
of learning.

BUT the progress of the reformation was chiefly owing to the restoration of learning; one of the most important events that ever rendered any age illustrious. This revolution of the human mind, from which all Europe has received such singular benefit, is attributed to the downfal of the Eastern empire in the fifteenth century. It should not, however, be dated from the taking of Constantinople; we must ascend a century higher. The victories of the Turkish sultans, Amurath I. and the great Bajazet, gave occasion to the emigrations of those learned Greeks, which proved so happy for Europe. The western world was still buried in ignorance; instead of true science, a philosophical jargon obtained in the schools, and metaphysics enveloped in barbarous latinity, passed current for real knowledge. At Constantinople they still retained some share of science, and had a refined taste for poetry and eloquence. They had, likewise, preserved the purity of their language, the knowledge of which was intirely lost in the West of Europe. Those sages who cultivated literature, terrified by the constant storms which the ambition of princes, the fanaticism of priests, and the progress of the Turkish arms, had raised in their country, went to seek in Italy a happier abode, in which they might peaceably dedicate themselves to the sweets of studious retirement. The misfortunes that befel the capital, by banishing such a number of learned men out of its bosom, gave that glory to Italy, and produced that succession of brilliant ages which have lasted even to our days.

* Seckendorff, F. Paul, Tableau de l'Hist. Mod. Pfeffel.

ALL Italy flocked to hear those Greeks; and a noble emulation stimulating the minds of men, taste revived upon seeing great models. A multitude of imitators arose, who wrote with as much purity as elegance in the Greek and Latin languages. The most eminent of those fugitives, whose names this part of the European world ought never to forget, were Chrysoloras, who first made known the arts of Greece in Italy; Theodore Gaza, who translated into Latin Aristotle's History of Animals, and the Aphorisms of Hippocrates; George of Trebifonde, secretary to pope Nicholas V. Demetrius Chalcondylus, who composed the first Greek grammar; cardinal Bessarion, whom John Paleologus brought with him to the council of Constance; and, finally, Constantine Lascaris, who did not think he should dishonour the blood of the emperors, which ran in his veins, by giving public lectures in Messina. The Greek masters soon had the pleasure of seeing scholars improve in proportion to the care they took in instructing them; and these afterwards became able teachers. Schools of the same nature were opened throughout Italy; the purity of the Latin and Greek languages was restored; and their beauties, long concealed, were at last most happily discovered.

Greek literature.

MOST of the Greek fugitives repaired to Florence, which afforded them a magnificent asylum. Cosmo of Medici was only a merchant, but a merchant known and respected at both ends of our hemisphere: he was the friend of virtue, the patron and protector of learning: his descendants trod in his footsteps, and genius and virtue conducted them to the sovereignty. This family was in the beginning of its greatness, when learning and the banished arts made their appearance in Italy. The generous princes of this house invited them to court, and loaded them with favours. The taste was soon communicated to the neighbouring states; and even Rome itself adopted it. Leo X. who was descended from the great Cosmo, made it his business to patronize the muses*.

* But see! each muse in Leo's golden days

Starts from her trance, and trims her wither'd bays.

Essay on Critic.

Latin tongue.

THE Italians who distinguished themselves in the learned languages, were very numerous; we shall mention only the most illustrious. Poggio, who was born near Florence, and secretary to several popes; most of his writings are admired for pure latinity, nervous thoughts, and an elocution tending to the sublime. Lawrence Valla acquired reputation by his critical knowledge, which greatly contributed to restore taste in Rome. His principal work is his Treatise upon the Elegances of the Latin Language, which envy unjustly accused him of having stolen. We likewise meet with Francis Philelphus, the best grammarian of his age; Marfilius Ficinus, who first made Plato and the disciples of that great philosopher known by his excellent translations of those authors; Picus of Mirandola, who enhanced the lustre of his birth and the honour of sovereignty, by the merit of being one of the most learned men of his age; Angelus Politianus, who joined the most extensive erudition to all the graces of literature. These were followed by a number of celebrated writers; such as Sadolet, Bembo, Palingenius, Sanazarius, Vida, the Manucius's, &c. Their example had a happy effect on other nations; for in England, about this time, appeared Sir Thomas More and Linacer; in France Budæus; in Holland Erasmus; in Germany Sleidanus, and Mareschallus Thurius that great ornament of the university of Rostock.

Living languages.

LIVING languages were gainers by these acquisitions: men were desirous of enriching themselves with the treasures of antiquity. The Italian tongue was happy in being cultivated by persons of extraordinary genius. Dante, who had carefully studied the ancients, attempted to communicate to his own language the energy which he found in his models: in this he succeeded, and his poem on Hell, filled with the most gloomy beauties, is still admired by the Italians. Petrarch entrusted this language with the expression of his loves; and inspired it with a sweetness that has immortalized his object, the beautiful Laura. Boccace, the disciple of Petrarch, wrote in prose, as his master wrote in verse; and there is nothing more finished

finished in the Italian language than his collection of tales. Ariosto, Sannazario, Bembo, Gravina, Trissino, Machiavel, and Guicciardin, are no less celebrated for the beauty of their style, than for the intrinsic merit of their compositions.

In other countries the living languages were not so carefully cultivated as in Italy. The Germans, absorbed in theological disputes, neglected to polish their idiom. The English made efforts, which were not very successful: the taste of literature was revived in this kingdom; but very little encouragement given to the mother-tongue. The feeble lights which had glimmered in the halcyon days of Henry VIII. were extinguished by the storms which disturbed the close of that reign. France made some efforts to imitate the improvements of Italy: among those who distinguished themselves this way, we may remark Clopinel, so well known by his continuation of the Romance of the Rose; John Le Maire, who shewed some imagination in poems, which were admired in that age; Froissard, Monstrelet, and Commines, whose histories are in great esteem, though their language is now obsolete and almost unintelligible; while the Italian of that same period is considered as the standard of purity.

THE progress of learning was greatly facilitated by the invention of printing. In former ages students were obliged to have recourse to scarce and incorrect manuscripts: thus few had the means of instruction; and scarce any man could acquire it with exactness. Advantages of an opposite nature were derived from printing: the road to learning was made smooth and secure; the works of the ancients were sought; they were printed; they were read; and texts corrupted by ignorance were restored. The rules of grammar were known with precision, and the style of the ancients imitated with success.

Printing.

SCIENCE, properly so called, may be said to have been restored in Europe by the Arabs, some time after the establishment of the empire of the caliphs in the East. The ardor of conquest being extinct, those people applied themselves to the study of geometry, astronomy, medicine, natural philosophy, logic,

Sciences.

and metaphysics. Arithmetical calculation is highly indebted to them for the numeral characters at present in common use. Mathematics received improvements from their studies; they were the restorers and improvers of algebra. They likewise revived astronomy; but, in some measure, injured that science, by introducing into it the reveries and visionary speculations of judicial astrology. They were improvers of medicine; yet their favourite notion of sympathetics retarded their progress in that important branch of natural knowledge. Though they made some useful discoveries in chemistry, they were extremely backward in natural philosophy and metaphysics. This was owing to their being guided intirely by Aristotle, whose works, as well as those of several other Greek philosophers, they had translated into their language. From the Arabic commentators on the Stagirite, the schoolmen borrowed their barbarous jargon, which proved such an obstacle to the increase of real science.

THE revival of mathematical learning was, however, owing to the translations of the ancient Greek writers. It was, chiefly, about this period that the true taste for those studies began to display itself, being brought into vogue by Euclid's Elements. Upon the restoration of Greek literature, able interpreters were found; who not only favoured the public with a translation of the elementary writings of Euclid, but likewise with those of the more profound works of Archimedes and Apollonius. These were illustrated by useful commentaries. Lucas de Burgo wrote concise methodical tracts on the principles of geometry, arithmetic, and algebra. Soon after arose a general taste for this study. Tartaglia invented a method of solving cubic equations; Ferrari rose to the equations of the fourth degree, which were improved and perfected by Bombelli. Aided by these helps, geometry seemed to resume new life and vigour. Commandin, Maurolicus, Pelletier, Nonius, and Tonstall, carried this science to a degree of perfection, inferior indeed to that which it has attained to in the present age, but utterly unknown till that period.

THE polite arts shewed themselves only in Italy : there it was that painting, sculpture, and architecture began to display their lustre. Cimabue, instructed by the Grecian painters, who had been invited over by the senate of Florence, learned from them the secrets of their art. Painting, aided by the talents of this artist, passed almost instantaneously from an infant state to perfect maturity. He astonished his masters, whom he equalled in their art ; and if the pictures which he has left us are no longer considered as master-pieces, it is owing to his having been succeeded by those surprizing men, whom the Zeuxis's and Apelles's would have dreaded as rivals. He founded the school of Florence, the most ancient in the West ; it was famous even from its infancy, and prolific in producing illustrious persons ; from it were seen to issue Giotto, Organia, Verrochio, Perugino, and above all Leonard de Vinci ; who added to the glory of their works, that of having formed the greatest masters. Antony of Messina, the first Italian that ever painted with oil-colours ; and Bellino, who robbed him of his secret, in order to communicate it generously to his rivals, laid the foundation of the Venetian school ; whilst the Van-eiks did the same honour to Flanders.

SCULPTURE, whose progress always follows that of Painting, was revived at the same time upon the banks of the Arno and the Tiber. Tada, Pisani, and Donato, dug up the antiquities which had, during so many ages, lain buried under the ruins of the Roman cities ; they taught men how to seek true beauties from the imitation of nature ; they meditated upon the regularity of features, the justness of proportions, the delicacy of contours, and the art of drapery : by sketches reiterated with success they came at last to hit on the manner of their models, and made copies by which the eye might be imposed upon. Architecture was revived by the same efforts. Men at last opened their eyes to contemplate the remains of those majestic edifices erected to Jupiter and Pallas. They perceived the merit of those orders of architecture, imagined by the Greeks, and so well copied by the Romans. Noble columns were erected, in which justness of design conspired with boldness of execution ; temples were consecrated

crated to the Deity, which were worthy of his presence, and the cities of Italy admired taste and magnificence united in public monuments. Nicholas of Pisa adorned Florence with those famous quays, which are washed by its river, and embellished them with statues of the benefactors of mankind. Calendario drew the plan of St. Mark's square, and surrounded it with those magnificent porticos which render it the most beautiful in the world.

ALL circumstances conspired to promote the glory of literature and the arts; the people who had neglected them, the princes who had scorned them, the popes who hated them, applauded these admirable performances, encouraged the artists by praises, excited their emulation by favours, and patronized genius by their power. The great Cosmo, the most respectable person of the age in which he lived; Julian of Medici, the oracle of contemporary princes; Nicholas V. Leo IX. Robert of Naples, who was considered as the most excellent monarch of his time; Alphonso the Magnanimous, whose reign was called the golden age; in fine, all the sovereigns who distinguished themselves in that period, considered it as their duty, and an essential article of their administration, to promote works of genius. They were firmly persuaded, that to contribute to the improvement of their subjects, was promoting their happiness, and securing the tranquility of their throne.

WHILST the most flourishing nations, in emulation of each other, did wonders to restore the elegant arts, some men of genius settled them upon lasting foundations by astonishing discoveries.

THE compass was discovered about the close of the thirteenth century. The general opinion is, that the inventor was Flavio, an inhabitant of Melfi, a city in the kingdom of Naples. It seems, in fact, to be due to the Neapolitans, who being then subject to the house of Anjou, placed a flower de luce over the needle. Mariners, guided by this surprizing machine, were no longer afraid to deviate from their latitude. In vain did clouds conceal the stars, the only guide till then known to navigators.

They had a fixed point which shewed the way, and left men at liberty to sail in the most remote parts of the sea, and advance to the extreme regions of the earth. The vast ocean, which was before considered as an abyss dug by the hand of nature to separate mortals, became an easy passage formed to unite them. New climates were discovered on every side, and new tracts of land offered themselves to the eyes of navigators. Africa was coasted, and its savage inhabitants loaded our vessels with their ivory and their gold. Our ships sailed round the coasts of Asia, which paid us the tribute of their silks. The most remote tracts of the East-Indies were penetrated, and their valuable productions exchanged for our meanest wares. Japan being discovered, the manufactures of those islands were brought into our ports, which greatly heightened our luxury. China was explored, and its morality surprized the sages of Europe, just as its industry animated the emulation of our artists. Thus navigation made a continual progress eastward; and for this the world was obliged to the daring spirit of the Portuguese. This progress of navigation gave rise to a new branch of commerce. The productions of Africa brought a new sort of commodities into Europe; and the Portuguese carrying on a direct commerce with the Indies, deprived Venice of the sources of her grandeur. England began to figure as a maritime power, and its wools were already become a considerable object of exportation. Industry triumphed in the Low Countries; manufactures of cloths, camblets, and tapestry, flourished at Ghent, Bruges, and Antwerp, whither all Europe went in quest of them. This is what rendered those cities so powerful, and gave the dukes of Burgundy the means of outshining all other European potentates in the grandeur of their court.

BUT the West presented a very different face of affairs. The Spaniards, guided by a foreigner, sailed upon waves still more unknown; and, braving all dangers, went in quest of other mortals, and to discover another hemisphere. If the merit of great men should be estimated by the genius required to form the plan, the strength of mind necessary to surmount obstacles, and the

the courage to brave dangers, Christopher Columbus may be justly considered as the most deserving of our praises. He set out from Cadiz, August the second, 1492, on his memorable voyage for the discovery of the western world: he succeeded, and the discovery was productive of a variety of advantages. The sphere of ideas was enlarged; the existence of the antipodes was ascertained, and their total separation added a new ray of light to reason. A new race of men furnished metaphysicians with bold ideas; strange plants enriched botany, and afforded fresh lights to physic. New phenomena enlightened the minds of men in natural philosophy: a new heaven presented to the view new stars, and produced new conjectures. The Ptolemaic system of the universe fell into contempt, and Copernicus discovered the true one.

SUCH were the advantages which resulted to the western world, from those two great and important events, the reformation of religion, and the restoration of learning. The country of Mecklenburg, in particular, may boast of this revolution, as the æra of its domestic happiness. Its civil and ecclesiastical constitution being then established upon solid foundations, under the wise government of Henry the Pacific, the manners of the people were polished and refined, commerce revived, arts and sciences flourished; in a word, society derived the greatest blessings from the opening of these two sources of truth, as will more fully appear in the subsequent volume*.

* Beehr, Franck, Marschal, Tableau de l'Hist. Mod. Polidor. Virgil. Guicciard. Machiav. Paul Jov. Nic. Vallori.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.















Nugent, Thomas,

The History Of Vandalia Containing The Ancient And Present State Of The
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